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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

UKRAINIAN CANADIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE: A SURVEY

by

FRANCES ANN SWYRIPA

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled UKRAINIAN CANADIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE: A SURVEY submitted by FRANCES ANN SWYRIPA in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of ARTS.

Supervisor

Date Jan. 10, 1976

ABSTRACT

The objective of this thesis was to examine those works in the English language investigating or describing the history of the Ukrainians in Canada to determine areas of concentration, dominant themes, and changing emphases or interpretations characteristic of this literature. A chronological approach was conducive to illustrating the maturation and growing sophistication of Ukrainian Canadian historiography. It has progressed from initial superficial descriptions of the original Ukrainian immigrants by Anglo-Saxons unfamiliar with both the Ukrainian Canadian community and its European background to extensive and intensive research into all facets of Ukrainian Canadian development by serious students of Ukrainian Canadian history. The survey was deliberately restricted to English-language material because, unlike Ukrainian-language works, it was not confined to the ethnic group.

It was discovered that the major contributions to the literature on the Ukrainians in Canada reflected the evolving concept of the role, contribution, and status of the Ukrainian Canadians in Canadian society and adopted the contemporary view of the Canadian national identity as it considered the so-called "Third Element." The thesis has thus been organized according to major periods in the development of Canadian consciousness--original emphasis on Anglo-conformity, continued stress in the inter-war years on assimilation but with growing appreciation of the "mosaic" concept of a Canadian identity, and recently general acceptance on official and public levels of multiculturalism as the

essence of Canadian nationality. These themes have corresponded to the three phases of Ukrainian immigration to and life in Canada--the agricultural movement to World War I, the inter-war migration characterized by political nationalists, and the immigration of displaced persons after 1945. Within each division, works have been grouped generically but discussed individually as to thesis, orientation, and content. The work concludes with a bibliography of consulted sources, supplemented by a biographical sketch of those authors on whom information was available, and a note on existing Ukrainian Canadian bibliographies.

Viewed collectively, the English-language literature on the Ukrainian Canadians not only records the history of one of the most dynamic ethnic groups in Canada but also indicates the evolution in thought regarding the value to Canada of the non-British and non-French elements in the nation.

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INTRODUCTION

Pertaining to a minority ethnic group, but one highly visible and vocal in a multi-racial nation, the literature investigating or describing Ukrainian Canadian life has consistently reflected the current dominant interpretation of the Canadian national destiny and identity as it took into account the so-called "Third Force." Ukrainian Canadian historiography exists today as a legitimate and accepted discipline in both the Ukrainian and English languages simply because the circumstances of Canadian nationhood have recognized ethnic diversity. In particular, the English-language literature on the Ukrainians in Canada, examined chronologically according to distinct phases in the growth of Canadian national consciousness and identification, aptly demonstrates the progress toward eventual acceptance of this concept. The present study proposes such a survey of this literature.[1] It establishes English-language Ukrainian Canadian historiography as a branch of general Canadian historical scholarship which evolved from amateur and superficial comments on Ukrainian Canadian life to systematic research in highly specialized topics, and the synthesis of all spheres of Ukrainian Canadian development.

As the quantity of English-language literature on the Ukrainians in Canada is limited, a relatively extensive survey of existing material is feasible, although manageability and the diversity of sources demand discrimination. With minor exceptions, only works published, both scholarly monographs and the more popular studies, or theses

written in Canada to 1970 have been considered. Newspapers have been excluded as an examination of newspaper opinion would constitute a study in itself and similar views can be obtained elsewhere. Scholarly articles have received adequate attention but those of a more popular nature have been consulted at random as a great proportion of this literature is of a trivial or repetitive character. Similarly, government papers and reports and unpublished manuscripts have been treated only marginally. Although arbitrary, these restrictions do not jeopardize the usefulness of a survey.

The mass Ukrainian immigration to Canada abruptly terminated by the eruption of war in 1914 was a movement of peasant agriculturists, conservative in outlook, largely illiterate, attached to the soil, and alienated culturally, linguistically, and religiously from the Canadian establishment and fellow immigrants of other nationalities. To guarantee the British character of Canada and its future prosperity, Canadian institutions vigorously campaigned to imbue the Ukrainian immigrants with an appreciation of British-Canadian ideals and institutions. Anglo-Saxon writers frequently examined the Ukrainians, among the most conspicuous and foreign of the New Canadians, for their adaptability and the degree or absence of their assimilation to British Canadian standards. Motivated by concern for Canadian national progress and not by a response to the Ukrainins as a legitimate collectivity in themselves, these early writers revealed little knowledge or understanding of the historical development of the Ukrainian people and their organization in Canada.

In the inter-war period, with the weakening imperial tie compelling British Canada to seek preservation from American absorption in a

homogeneous society, and the resumption of large-scale immigration, the question of the desirability of different classes of immigrants from the point of view of their assimiability again became crucial. Writers appraised the Ukrainians as Canadian citizens by considering their physical role in building the nation, adaptability as measured by racial statistics for mental illness and crime, and degree of assimilation in cognizance of their bloc settlements and national consciousness. On the other hand, there emerged those who recognized a certain diversity, willing to concede that not only did tradition ease adjustment but loyalty to things Ukrainian and a desire for Ukrainian independence were not necessarily un- or anti-Canadian. Variety acquired value in the thinking concerning the Canadian fabric. The co-existence of two trends--assimilation and the "mosaic"--in the literature of the inter-war years indicated a transitional period as a clear idea of the Ukrainian's role as a Canadian had not yet crystallized.

Although Anglo-Saxons continued to write on the Ukrainian Canadians during World War II, primarily stimulated by their dedication to the Allied war effort, succeeding years witnessed their eclipse by Ukrainian Canadian writers. The question of assimilation did not vanish, but the emphasis shifted. The Ukrainians refined the "mosaic" concept to stress their integration into Canadian political, economic, and social life while retaining their historical and cultural heritage within a Ukrainian Canadian collectivity. With renewed attention to the bilingual and bicultural character of Canada in the 1960's came a re-examination of the place and role of the non-British and non-French elements in Canadian life. By 1970 Canadian identity had been defined in terms of multiculturalism in a bilingual framework. Studies on the

Ukrainian Canadians during this period reflected the controversy, especially as Ukrainian writers continued to portray the duality of Ukrainian Canadians.

Unlike literature in the Ukrainian language, English-language works on the Ukrainians in Canada were initiallly detached from the embryonic Ukrainian Canadian community. Nevertheless, by their very accessibility to a mass national audience, they enjoy a scope and influence unknown to Ukrainian-language works, confined by the language barrier to a portion of the ethnic group. If integration continues to divest the Ukrainian Canadians of their language, Ukrainian publications will be reduced to a minor and academic role in Ukrainian Canadian life with corresponding gains to Ukrainian Canadian historiography in English.

FOOTNOTES

[1]In 1972 Y. W. Lozochuk and H. Radecki of the Department of Sociology, York University, Toronto, presented a paper entitled "Slavs in Canada: Selected Observations on the Literature that Deals with Polish and Ukrainian Canadians" to a Symposium on Race and Ethnic Relations in Canada at the Annual American Anthropological Association Meeting held in Toronto. A preliminary work, it indicated the descriptive and analytical literature available on the two groups, assessed its reliability, and noted both recurring themes and issues and neglected but relevant areas of study and sources of data. The study was conducted topically, outlining significant trends in specific areas, and made no attempt to critically evaluate the concepts, methodology, or data of individual works or the progressive development of Ukrainian Canadian historiography.

CHAPTER I

PERIOD OF ACQUAINTANCESHIP*

As initial references to the Ukrainians[1] were scattered, one must examine a greater range of sources than for successive periods to obtain an accurate indication of the contemporary knowledge and concepts of the recently-arrived Ukrainian immigrants. Much of the literature consisted of casual allusions to or descriptions of the strange and colorful Ukrainian as encountered by the Anglo-Saxon. Consequently, incidental comments acquire a significance subsequently lost through repetition and submersion by deliberate studies on the Ukrainian Canadians. The bulk of the material on the Ukrainians in Canada to World War I was written by government officials, educationalists, and missionaries as the federal and provincial governments, the school, and Canadian religious organizations enjoyed first prolonged contact with the Ukrainian immigrant-settlers. Their concern for the British character of Canada and national prosperity, betrayed by their rapid and aggressive interest in the Ukrainians, was corroborated by the tenor of the literature emerging from their experiences. Research was in its infancy and much of the literature produced served later students of Ukrainian Canadian history as primary source material on this earliest phase of Ukrainian life in Canada.

---

*For stylistic purposes, only the author, abbreviated title, and date of a specific work will appear in the text of the thesis. Complete bibliographic data as well as biographical information outlining an author's qualifications and association with the Ukrainian Canadian community are contained in the bibliography.

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The annual reports of the Department of the Interior and the Departments of Education in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta constituted the first consistent public sources of information on the Ukrainians. With a utilitarian purpose to outline the implementation of policy, progress, and obstacles; they were largely factual and unimaginative statements of a year's activities and developments. They concentrated respectively on immigration and the physical settling of the land from the standpoint of officialdom and on the establishment of properly-administered, properly-taught, and properly-equipped schools in Ukrainian districts.

The majority of the Department of the Interior annual reports focused on practical considerations facing the government bodies concerned with the immigration and settlement of the Ukrainian peasant. They were little interested in the land of origin or in the peasant himself beyond the occasional observation that he seemed thrifty, industrious, eager to learn, and likely to be a successful farmer. However, the Department of the Interior was not oblivious to the need for Canada to become acquainted with the character of the land from whence came the Galician and his customary way of life before the disruption of immigration and pioneering. W. T. R. Preston, Inspector of European Agencies for the Department of the Interior, journeyed to Galicia in 1899 solely to inquire into the manner of life of the Galician Ukrainian peasants in their native surroundings. His description of peasant village life and land use in Eastern Galicia was contained in the report submitted to his Department in 1899. The picture created was positive and Preston concluded his report optimistically:

I am fully aware that the Galician whom I have seen here, neat and

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> tidy in his attire, although somewhat quaint to the Anglo-Saxon eyes, cheerful in his demeanor, and deferential to a marked degree, does not bear a strong resemblance to the Galician whom I have seen arrive in Canada, haggard and tired after four weeks' travel by land and sea. But I have seen his home, the village whence he has come, the farm land that he has cultivated, and I have had no difficulty in arriving at the conclusion that, given a chance in our country, amid its free institutions, he will quickly become Anglicized, and, through his natural thrift and industry, will develop in a few years into a citizen of whom the most sensitive Canadian will not be ashamed.[2]

Preston's findings lay in sharp contrast to statements by many later writers who condemned a lack of hygiene, general untidiness and overcrowding, plain unappetizing fare, and the presence of animals close to or in the house as being indicative of conditions in Galicia and inherent in the Ukrainian way of life, not necessarily reflecting the stress of immigration and pioneering under frequently formidable difficulties.

The reports issued by the Department of Education in the three prairie provinces specifically discussed the problems raised in conjunction with the expressed desire of the Ukrainian settlers for education in the Ukrainian language. Privately, Canadian educationalists and teachers also investigated the introduction of the public school into foreign settlements blocs and the teaching of the English language, British ideals and Canadian ways to the Ukrainian. The writings of individual teachers commonly provided more personal accounts of education in the Ukrainian blocs as well as descriptions of the Ukrainians and their ways of life.[3] Literature on the role of the public school in assimilating the Ukrainian immigrants to British-Canadian ideals and standards appeared well into the inter-war period as studies continued to probe programs and progress in this field.

While the Canadian Protestant churches, notably the Methodist and

Presbyterian, were motivated by a missionary zeal to carry evangelical Christianity to the Ukrainians in the conviction that an authoritarian church and ritualistic religion were evil, the Roman Catholic Church labored to save the leaderless Ukrainian Greek Catholics for Rome. As Roman Catholic activity among the Ukrainians was conducted primarily by French and Belgian missionaries, much of the resultant literature appeared in French or Flemish. More recently, studies in French and Flemish on this aspect of Ukrainian Canadian life have contributed to the development of Ukrainian Canadian historiography outside the English- and Ukrainian-speaking communities.[4] Although resented by the Ukrainians as a traditional instrument of Polonization, the Roman Catholic Church was less alien to the Ukrainian historical experience than was Canadian Protestantism. Roman Catholic writings showed greater comprehension of Ukrainian religious history in Uniatism or Orthodoxy than did those by Anglo-Saxon Protestants, who produced considerable confusion in attempting to clarify the religious divisions in Ukrainian society. Propelled overwhelmingly by religious principles and governed by the internationalism of Catholicism, the Roman Catholic Church did not reveal the same patriotic commitment as did the Methodist and Presbyterian churches to Canadianizing the Ukrainian in the British mold.[5]

To the two major Canadian Protestant churches, the value and truth of evangelical Christianity became equated with the notion of the superiority of British-Canadian ideals, institutions, and way of life.[6] Adopting the motto "Canada for Christ," the Methodists and Presbyterians visualized their mission to be not simply the evangelization of the Ukrainians for their own sakes but also their evangelization and assimilation in the interests of Canada.[7] Their religious journals and

official reports of developments in the Ukrainian mission field repeatedly emphasized the necessity of both evangelization and assimilation to protect the nation from the false religion and questionable level of civilization introduced by the Ukrainian peasant.[8] Although Presbyterian and Methodist missions among the Ukrainians ultimately vanished under the United Church of Canada, those involved in this effort to educate the Ukrainians in Protestantism and British-Canadian democracy have left different accounts of their experiences.

A perhaps unanticipated development resulted from Protestant missionary contact with the Ukrainian settlers. Notwithstanding the fact that the Anglo-Saxon in Canada encountered overwhelmingly only the Ukrainian peasant culture, ignorance of the Ukrainian historical and literary heritage did not remain universal. Among the Protestant clergy serving the Ukrainians were those who became academically interested in Ukrainian history and literature and undertook serious study of the Ukrainian language. In later years they contributed to the growth of Ukrainian studies proper in North America. A limited but early contribution was by the Reverend Doctor Alexander Jardine Hunter, Presbyterian medical missionary among the Ukrainians at Teulon, Manitoba, for a quarter century. In 1922 he published The Kobzar of the Ukraine,[9] an annotated translation of selected poetry by Taras Shevchenko. Another Presbyterian clergyman also working among the Manitoba Ukrainians, the Reverend Percival Cundy engaged in more sustained and scholarly Ukrainian literary pursuits. Acquiring an excellent command of Ukrainian and moving to the United States in 1937, he achieved considerable repute as a translator and literary critic of Ukrainian works, particularly those of the West Ukrainian Ivan Franko and the East Ukrainian poetess Lesya

Ukrayinka.[10] Marko Vovchok, Mykhaylo Kotsiubinsky, and Vasyl' Stefanyk were other Ukrainian literary figures to attract Cundy. Cundy and Hunter were unquestionably atypical of the Protestant missionaries among the Ukrainians, but their admiration for Ukrainian literature indicated the transmission of culture from Ukrainian to Anglo-Saxon although on a restricted scale.

By the close of World War I official government and Protestant church interest in the Ukrainians had declined. The mass Ukrainian immigration had been halted and was to resume abated after the war. Hence the Ukrainian immigrant-settlers were no longer so vital an issue to federal government departments and mention of them correspondingly dwindled. In 1916 the bilingual schools clause was repealed in Manitoba and with growing widespread acceptance of English-language instruction by the Ukrainians in all three prairie provinces, the progress of education in Ukrainian districts was no longer noted in the annual reports issued by the Departments of Education. The consolidation of the Ukrainian community around its traditional churches with the establishment of the Greek Catholic hierarchy in 1913 and formation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada in 1918 forced the Presbyterians and Methodists to admit the failure of their drive to convert the Ukrainians to Protestantism. The Ukrainians disappeared as an area of concern in contemporary publications and their later literature tended to dismiss the Ukrainian experiment as a fleeting phase in their respective histories.[11] Lastly, during the war the term "New Canadian" came to replace "Foreigner" as the authorized designation of the non-British immigrant, signifying that as assimilation or adaptation proceeded, however slowly, Anglo-Canadian attitudes changed toward their new

fellow citizens.

Examination of the Ukrainians through World War I was practically the exclusive prerogative of representatives of the three above-mentioned institutions but a fourth category of literature also existed. Those who had only marginal contact with the Ukrainians and their colonies often elected as well to describe the unusual and the picturesque to an audience unfamiliar with the peasant customs and ways of life of Eastern Europe. Their comments remained cursory, largely observations limited to prominent features--clothing, church and cottage architecture, food, living conditions, customs, and religious observances.

Much of the failure to examine the Ukrainians as members of a national collectivity resulted from the fact that at the time of their arrival in Canada they had been long stateless and were physically divided between two empires. They came not as citizens of a Ukrainian state but as subjects of Austria-Hungary and Russia. The peasants themselves were able to convey little of Ukrainian national history to an inquisitive Anglo-Saxon or to clarify but slightly the various nuances of Galician, Bukovinian, Austrian, Ruthenian, Little Russian, and other appellations that they received in Canada. The term "Ukrainian," while gaining universal popularity among Austrian and Russian Ukrainians by World War I, was used irregularly by those of that nationality in Canada until the events of the Ukrainian Revolution and existence of an independent Ukraine from 1917 to 1921 elevated their national consciousness.

In 1906 Michael A. Sherbinin, a Russian graduate of St. Petersburg University and instructor to Galician youths at Manitoba College,

presented a paper to the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba entitled "The Galicians Dwelling in Canada and their Origin." Although potentially significant in introducing Anglo-Canada to Ukrainian history, Sherbinin's address failed to fulfill its possibilities. Covering Ukrainian development from prehistoric times to the contempoary situation, dwelling on the medieval period, in twelve pages, it was hopelessly deficient even as a useful skeleton. What value it did possess was minimized by the fact that the Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba were restricted to an exclusive audience and hence not notably influential beyond academic circles. It is worthy of mention, however, that the Society would have invited or welcomed at that date a paper pertaining to the Galician immigrants.

That considerable confusion existed among Canadians as to the identity of the Ukrainian immigrants is evident from the numerous writers who endeavoured to explain their origins ethnically and nationally as a Slavic group. Perhaps the most fantastic array of associations made in an attempt to place the Galicians in their proper niche in European civilization, the following statement by one who favored Ukrainian immigration illustrates the degree of misconception possible:

> As we drive west and north-west [of Saskatoon], we find ourselves among folk who know no English. "Galicians," or "Galatians," they are commonly called. Some of them come from Galicia in the Austrian Empire, but others are Ruthenians or Ukrainians from South-western Russia, and many from Poland, too. They belong, like the Servs and Croats and Montenegrins, the Czechs and Slovaks, and nearly all the Russians, to the great Slavic Race.
>
> But who are the Slavs? Just a branch of the same white race that we ourselves belong to. Their ancestors, like ours, poured through Europe in waves of barbaric invasion from some far eastern home, but settled in Russia and neighboring lands as our forefathers had passed on to settle on the shores of the Atlantic. The very name "Galician" reminds us of the real kinship between the Galicians of Austria-Hungary, the Galatians of Asia Minor to whom St. Paul wrote his epistle, the inhabitants of France whom Julius Caesar describes as Gauls, and the Celtic Gaels of the British

Isles.

Long separated from us, they have come to join us again.[12]

On the other hand, a feature article on the Ruthenians appearing in the Winnipeg Free Press in 1903 clearly outlining the Polish-Ruthenian racial and political tensions in the Austrian province of Galicia and alluding to the Ukrainian national past proved that certain sectors of Canadian society recognized the factors affecting Ukrainian historical development.[13] In 1921 "Ukrainian" first appeared as an ethnic origin on the Canadian census lists. Eventually, as it came to be the term preferred by the Ukrainians in Canada and the different implications in the former names were better understood, interest in nomenclature declined in Anglo-Saxon writings. Initial confusion and inconsistency, however, led to permanent uncertainty in Ukrainian immigration statistics to World War I.

Of the works by those having only marginal contact with the Ukrainians, travel diaries in particular contained vignettes of the Ukrainian immigrant-settlers and their outward traits, customs, and life style from the turn of the century well into the 1920's.[14] Several travellers were British or Canadian journalists who journeyed through Canada either for personal or business reasons and recorded their impressions and observations. These men and women constantly sought examples of the peculiar and the quaint to capture the attention of the public at home. The Galician settlers in their sheepskin coats and headshawls, glimpsed in passage or in their daily routine as the travellers crossed Western Canada, furnished ample subject matter, and the visual features and pronounced or common characteristics of the Ukrainians and their colonies were highlighted.

As the travellers also wished to determine the future direction of Canada as a nation and component of the British Empire, their comments included judgments of the Galicians as prospective Canadians, again from extremely limited acquaintance. Regardless of the problems posed for assimilating agencies, the foreigners were recognized as valuable laborers and agriculturists. Already, however, caution was expressed at the establishment of ethnic blocs which hindered assimilation to Canadian norms, although the travellers mentioned little overt resistance to assimilation, even noting a desire for it by the Galicians. Simultaneously, consternation for the security of the British element in Canada was manifest. As expected, however, the question of the Ukrainians' suitability and promise as Canadian citizens was studied in greater depth by writers having more protracted contact with them.

In 1899 perhaps the earliest article on the Ukrainian immigrants, "A Galician Wedding" by Basil C. d'Easum, appeared in Canadian Magazine. It concerned a scheming and callous Galician peasant in Alberta, recently widowed, who solicited the services of an Anglican priest to marry a new wife obtained sight unseen. Both Nikolai Szcheswa Pschitzchisoffsni, his name undoubtedly deliberately concocted to illustrate his "foreignness," and his bride were portrayed as dirty and slovenly, while at the conclusion of the marriage ceremony, Nikolai begged fifty cents from the preacher and stole his pipe. A caustic remonstrance against the immigration policies of the Liberal government, d'Easum's article painted the Galician as a wholly negative figure loath to assimilate and detrimental to Canadian health. Of the literature examining the Ukrainian peasant of the pre-World War I immigration, few works revealed the degree of racial prejudice and

animosity contained in "A Galician Wedding."[15]

In 1909 Canadian Magazine carried a second article focusing on the Ukrainians. "Winnipeg: The Melting Pot" by George Fisher Chipman, a school teacher who taught for some years among different nationalities in rural Alberta, also expressed reservations as to the desirability of the Ukrainians but without the dislike and moral indignation prominent in d'Easum's article a decade previously. Largely through the Galicians in Winnipeg, Chipman outlined the problems created for both immigrant groups and Canadian civic and religious authorities by the concentration of large numbers of foreign immigrants in urban enclaves where the ways of life, attitudes, and entire orientation were divorced from the fundamental Anglo-Saxon structure of the city. Recognizing the chasm separating the Galician from his accustomed life and the environment into which he was now thrust, Chipman appreciated the pressures on the immigrant in adjusting to his changed condition, new ideas, and institutions. He also deplored the accompanying tendency for crime and delinquency and the fertile soil for political corruption by both Canadians and the Galician's fellow countrymen. Voicing a theme to be advocated by all assimilationists and particularly educationalists, Chipman concluded that while the older generation could only be aided, pitied, and endured, it was the younger generation that was to be fostered, watched, and developed into Canadians.

J. H. Hardy, another school teacher among the Alberta Ukrainians, published a short article in 1913 entitled "The Ruthenians in Alberta." As the following passage indicates, his description of the Ruthenians and their living conditions was highly derogatory:

> On approaching one of the dwellings one is in dire danger of being torn to pieces by a pack of wolfish, hungry-looking dogs. Should

> he escape these and open the door, several chickens start out noisily under his feet, and he beholds an old hen and her brood nestling under the stove. In another corner a turkey is mothering her brood, and a family of kittens are playing on the bed: three or four unkempt, dirty urchins cling to their mother's skirts and gaze curiously at the newcomer. The whole establishment reeks with a strong, peculiar Russian [?] odor. If it is about their meal time, the home-made table is freighted with an unlimited supply of boiled eggs, some brown rye or barley bread and a copious supply of murky tea. The most noticeable feature of the dwelling is the lack of cleanliness everywhere in evidence.[16]

Hardy's comments are interesting, particularly in comparison with those made by W. T. R. Preston on viewing the Ukrainians in their native Galicia. Although his favorable views were perhaps influenced by his position as a civil servant, in his report to the Department of the Interior Preston had explicitly stated, for example, that no animal sheds were found attached to the house.[17] Hardy also characterized the Ruthenians as avaricious toward each other, liars to a greater or lesser degree, unwilling to honor debts, and too fond of alcohol. Although ostensibly speaking from personal experience, some of his statements were absurd. He asserted that the Ruthenians' lack of mathematical ability was illustrated by their roads as they elected to detour around sloughs rather than to build through them. Other statements uttered with equal authority were simply totally erroneous, such as calling a dish of garlic "sauerkraut" or, more crucially, declaring that the Orthodox Church recognized the pope while the Greek Catholic did not. Hardy concluded his brief account with emphasizing the patriotic duty of the Anglo-Saxon teacher in educating the Ruthenians to Canadian standards. His negative portrayal of the Ruthenians was perhaps intended to enlist the readers of his article as teachers and active participants generally in their Canadianization.

Ukrainian religious practices also attracted the attention of

Anglo-Saxon writers. "Janey Canuck," wife of a Protestant minister and later Alberta judge, attended a Greek Catholic mass in Mundare, Alberta, and recorded her impressions in "Communing with Ruthenians." Describing the Finding of the Holy Cross, she conveyed her own emotional response of awe and reverence for the intense religious passion and devotion of the Ukrainians and the pageantry of their worship although she understood neither. From an acquaintance with the Ukrainians in the vicinity of Lamont, Alberta, Miriam Elston provided another description of a Ukrainian mass, but "A Greek Easter Service" was primarily concerned with furnishing a factual although vividly colorful account of the Greek Orthodox Easter service to an audience unfamiliar with the Eastern rite. Similarly, in "A Ruthenian Day of Days" she graphically reported the consecration of a Greek Orthodox church as she observed it visually but only partially responded to emotionally. Neither Janey Canuck nor Miriam Elston censured the Ukrainians' religious practices and beliefs, expressing rather a feeling of admiration.

A noted journalist, Elston produced numerous articles on the Ukrainian colony east of Edmonton where she taught in the years prior to World War I. Published in Canadian and British magazines, they were well illustrated with excellent pictures of native costumes, churches, and thatched and plastered dwellings. Some were purely descriptive and explanatory, intended to acquaint her Anglo-Canadian readers with the traditions of the people among whom she found herself.[18] Others were more seriously oriented and considered the adaptation of the Ukrainians to Canadian life especially through the efforts of the church, school, and affiliated Canadianizing institutions active in the Ukrainian bloc in Alberta. Although in general sympathetic and understanding in her

interpretation of the Ukrainians and assessment of their progress, Elston made certain fallacious statements of considerable magnitude. Well into World War I she referred to the Ukrainians east of Edmonton interchangeably as Ruthenians and Russians, clearly not grasping the fact that the two constituted distinct and historically antagonistic nationalities.[19]

In her more purposive articles, Elston concentrated on medical activity and enlightenment and on the education of the Ukrainians as undertaken by the Alberta government. The first area of concentration was particularly critical of the Ukrainians' living conditions and folk beliefs. The last in a series of four articles, "Ruthenians in Western Canada: When Sickness Visits a Russian Home," centred on the problems confronting the Anglo-Saxon doctor as he sought to combat both illness and superstition. "Meeting the Needs on the Frontier: My Acquaintance with Lamont Hospital" discussed the role of that Methodist institution in eradicating superstition and fatalistic acceptance from the Ukrainians' traditional regard of sickness and so introduce them to improved health. The story of Nicholi, a Ruthenian youth (in spite of his impossible Ukrainian name) who would have died if primitive peasant remedies had been allowed to prevail, appeared in "Our Little Russian Brother." Nicholi recovered to become a link between the old world and the new. Elston's attitude in this regard closely paralleled that of the Protestant churches. The Anglo-Saxon could reach not only through the school but also by entering the home and ministering to the people's physical needs. Assimilation would occur naturally as example forced the realization and rejection of antiquated methods and thoughts.[20]

As a school teacher, Elston was greatly interested in educational

work among the Ukrainians. Again the school, Anglo-Saxon teacher, and the educational process emerged as primary Canadianizing bodies. Elston's articles on education in the Ukrainian districts of Alberta stressed the influence of the qualified Anglo-Saxon teacher both in the classroom and at home, the wisdom of English-language instruction, and the Ukrainians' active interest in the education of their children. They included "Making Ruthenians into Canadians: An Interesting Experiment in Education," "English Schools for Foreigners in Alberta," and "The Russian in our Midst." One of the most substantive of her articles, "The Russian in our Midst" encompassed all aspects of life in the Ukrainian colony near Lamont--its distinguishing and picturesque features, traditions, progress, the adoption of visible Canadian standards, and the characteristics of the people themselves. Some of Elston's most perceptive comments concerned the traits revealed by the Ukrainians, for she noted their deep religiosity; suspicion of one another, particularly of those who prospered and rose above the multitude; and distrust of new people and institutions.

The preceding discussion has involved the miscellaneous and less thematic literature on the Ukrainians in Canada through World War I. Limited in length, range of subject matter, and depth of penetration, it formed the bulk of the material written on the Ukrainians during these years. The resultant image of the Ukrainian, his background, and present condition was sketchy and determined by Anglo-Canadians at best on the periphery of the coalescing Ukrainian Canadian community and restricted to the visible and tangible. The accuracy of an individual's comments largely rested on his powers of observation, knowledge, ability to communicate and analyze, outlook and personal prejudices.

Specific research or concentration on the Ukrainians as an identifiable and significant group in Canada was sporadic. Nevertheless, three publications in particular examined them in some detail and in relation to the question of assimilation confronting the two major Canadian institutions, the church and the school. Together they have made the most enduring contribution to the body of literature on the Ukrainians in Canada emerging from the period through World War I.

The sole work concerned exclusively with the Ukrainians was a novel, The Foreigner: A Tale of Saskatchewan, by the Presbyterian clergyman Charles W. Gordon, more commonly recognized by his literary pseudonym, Ralph Connor. Extremely prolific and popular as a novelist, Connor wrote numerous books on Western Canada as well as his home province of Ontario. Although he enjoyed a great reputation among his contemporaries, Canadian, British, and American, and his western novels stimulated British and central Canadian immigration to Western Canada, he was not a good writer. Melodramatic plots and shallow characterization served his supreme purpose of moralizing. Pitting Good against Evil with Good emerging victorious, The Foreigner did not deviate from the wonted pattern. The novel operated on two planes. The lesser was that of the plot itself, while the greater witnessed a confrontation between the manly, virtuous, and Christian Anglo-Saxon and the ignorant, emotional, and frequently immoral Galician. On this second level, Gordon spoke independently on the value to Canada of the Galicians and the responsibility of the Canadian churches and schools to preach, teach, and minister to make them good Christians and good Canadians. In many respects The Foreigner was a fictional supplement to the annual submissions on Galician or Ruthenian work to the general assembly of

the Presbyterian Church in Canada, as Connor's dual religious and national commitment testified.

The story commenced with Anka's wedding celebrations at the house of the Galician peasant woman, Paulina Koval, in the predominantly Slavic colony of North End Winnipeg. The unexpected arrival of a mysterious stranger from Russia, Michael Kalmar, with his attempted murder of Rosenblatt, the Bukovinian who held Kalmar's wife Paulina and his two children in bondage, set the stage for the melodrama. A Russian nobleman and nihilist, Kalmar had escaped from imprisonment in Siberia to come to Canada where his motherless children were in the care of the dull-witted and slovenly Paulina. He had come to settle old scores with his political enemies and traitors to the Russian Fatherland, particularly Rosenblatt, who now financially controlled much of the Winnipeg Galician colony as well as Paulina's personal affairs. Kalman and Irma Kalmar, the two children, honored the memory of their dead mother, their father, and his ideals, but as the novel developed they became "Canadians," the guiding lights for the Galician colony at Wakota in rural Saskatchewan where the action finished. To this colony gravitated all the major characters--Kalman, Irma, Paulina and her child by Rosenblatt as well as those Canadians responsible for introducing Christian and Anglo-Saxon virtues. Here too the senior Kalmar wreaked his final vengeance on Rosenblatt as the violent deaths of both and the sacrifice of Paulina to save Kalman concluded the Russian intrigue.

As his description of the inhabitants of North End Winnipeg demonstrated, Connor understood little of the ethnic, political, or religious composition of Eastern Europe:

> With a sprinkling of Germans, Italians, and Swiss, it was almost solidly Slav. Slavs of all varieties from all provinces and speaking all dialects were there to be found: Slavs from Little Russia

> and from Great Russia, the alert Polak, the heavy Croatian, the haughty Magyar, and occasionally the stalwart Dalmatian from the Adriatic, in speech mostly Ruthenian, in religion orthodox Greek Catholic or Uniat and Roman Catholic.[21]

Errors are apparent. Firstly, the Magyars are not Slavic but an Ugro-Finnian people whose closest relatives are located in the Ural Mountains. Secondly, of the nationalities named, only the Little Russians or Ukrainians would speak Ruthenian, while Uniatism extended only to the Ukrainians of Galicia and Trans-Carpathia in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. While conceding that their "non-discriminating Anglo-Saxon fellow citizens" called them all Galicians, Connor was no more knowledgeable himself. His own confusion made possible the marriage of Kalmar and Paulina. It is highly improbable that a Russian nobleman would have married a Galician peasant woman, separated as they were politically into two empires and physically by intervening territory. Similarly, it is illogical that as a Bukovinian Rosenblatt would have been employed in the Russian Secret Service and hence responsible for Kalmar's betrayal and arrest. Connor's ignorance of the definition of a Russian nihilist and its historical applicability is equally evident. Connor did accord the Russian Kalmar and his children a respect, dignity, and intelligence not extended to Paulina and the other Galicians, indicating that he made a distinction between the two although blurred. Kalman's father informed him that he was not of these Galician cattle, yet Kalman became the leader of "his" people, the Galicians. The names "Irma" and "Kalman" themselves were typically Hungarian and most uncommon among both Ukrainians and Russians. Their choice by Connor further illustrated his unfamiliarity with Eastern Europe. Regardless of the countless nationalities introduced, the fallacious statements and associations perpetrated, it is obvious that Connor was basically

concerned with the Ukrainian immigrant.[22]

It is on its second level that The Foreigner is permanently significant as a commentary on the contemporary attitude of the Canadian evangelical Protestant clergy toward the assimilation of the non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants. Here the contrast between the Christian Anglo-Saxon and immoral Galician was pronounced. For example:

> Meanwhile, while respectable Winnipeg lay snugly asleep under snow-covered roofs and smoking chimneys, while belated revellers and travellers were making their way through white, silent streets and under avenues of snow-laden trees to homes where reigned love and peace and virtue, in the north end and in the foreign colony the festivities in connection with Anka's wedding were drawing to a close in sordid drunken dance and in sanguinary fighting. In the main room dance and song reeled on in uproarious hilarity. In the basement below, foul and fetid, men stood packed close, drinking while they could. It was for the foreigner an hour of rare opportunity. The beer kegs stood open and there were plenty of tin mugs about. In the dim light of a smoky lantern, the swaying crowd, here singing in maudlin chorus, there fighting savagely to pay off old scores or to avenge new insults, presented a nauseating spectacle.[23]

Critical of Galician moral standards, Connor attributed them not to absolute moral character but to the centuries of moral development separating the Slavs from the Anglo-Saxons. An autocratic government and a retrograde and superstitious church in the homeland had spiritually and morally stunted them. Through his negative portrayal of the Galicians, Connor undoubtedly sought to illustrate the danger to Western Canada if they were not assimilated and provided with the best Canadian examples. That the Slav was capable of improvement if accorded the opportunity is substantiated by Kalman and Irma, who rose above their origins through the exemplary influence of righteous Anglo-Saxons.

Little Margaret Ketzel, who had learned the English language and Canadian ways at the Methodist mission and school, transformed Irma into an impressive young Canadian lady. Kalman captured the attention of the ministering angel of the foreign colony, Mrs. French, who devoted her

life to the enlightenment and elevation of the foreigner. Although the efforts of the Methodist mission and Mrs. French were the ideal, Gordon as the Presbyterian minister at times directly castigated Anglo-Saxon Winnipeg for its neglect of the foreign immigrants:

> Many and generous were the philanthropies of Winnipeg, but as yet there was none that had to do with the dirt, disease and degradation that were too often found in the environment of the foreign people. There were many churches in the city rich in good work, with many committees that met to confer and report, but there was not yet one whose special duty it was to confer and to report upon the unhappy and struggling and unsavory foreigner within their city gate.[24]

Mrs. French, battling this great indifference, did what she could. To remove Kalman from the streets of Winnipeg, she dispatched him to her brother-in-law in rural Saskatchewan. Jack French, although an excessive drinker, was Connor's ideal of manliness. Under his guidance and that of the Reverend Doctor Brown, who arrived to establish a Presbyterian mission, school, and hospital in the adjacent Galician colony, Kalman became a man, a Christian in the Presbyterian definition, and a good Canadian. His marriage to a Scottish girl indicated the route for fusing many nationalities into one Canadian race.

French and Brown represented two opposing reactions to the Galician immigrants.[25] French, after his initial overtures had been repulsed, left them severely alone. If they were educated, he argued, they would soon run the country. Brown, on the other hand, contended that as they would soon run the country anyway, they must be equipped for the task, for the existence of an undigested foreign mass could jeopardize the future of Western Canada. The two agencies to provide the Galicians with the essential ideas and ideals were the church and the school. Brown claimed that it was the purpose of his church not to proselytize but to make good citizens. Nevertheless, the novel placed great

emphasis on Kalman's conversion to Presbyterianism. Similarly the goodness and purity of Brown's religion was stressed through its contrast with the corrupt and drunken Polish priest who appeared to grip the Galician colony.

The Galician colony thrived partially through the coal mine that Kalman discovered and developed to furnish employment for the Galicians but the most crucial factor in its prosperity was the work of Brown and his mission:

> The changes apparent in the colony, largely as the result of Dr. Brown's labours, were truly remarkable. The creating of a market for their produce by the advent of the railway and for their labour by the development of the mine, brought the Galician people wealth, but the influence of Dr. Brown himself, and of his Home and of his Hospital, was apparent in the life and character of the people, and were giving place to neat frame houses, each surrounded by its garden of vegetables and flowers. In dress the sheepskin and the shawl were being exchanged for the ready made suit and the hat of latest style. The Hospital, with its staff of trained nurses under the direction of the young matron, the charming Miss Irma, by its ministrations to the sick and more by the spirit that breathed through its whole service, wrought in the Galician mind a new temper and a new ideal. In the Training Home 50 Galician girls were being indoctrinated into that most noble of all sciences, the science of homemaking, and were gaining practical experience in all the cognate sciences and arts.[26]

Connor has here described the ideal program and goal of the Presbyterian Church in Christianizing and Canadianizing the Galician. When The Foreigner is divested of the Russian intrigue and love story, this constitutes its essential message and purpose--an examination of the problem to Canada of the Slavic immigrant and the program for his assimilation from the evangelical Protestant point of view. That Connor's detrimental and degrading picture of the Galician negatively influenced the collective public mind is verified by other writers.[27] Whether he convinced Anglo-Canadians of the need for the Galicians' assimilation and for their own active participation in its achievement remains

debatable.

The second major work to emerge concerned with the Ukrainian immigrants was also written from the evangelical Protestant point of view and with emphasis on the role of the Canadian Protestant churches in Canadianizing the foreigner. James S. Woodsworth, minister of the Methodist Church of Canada, wrote Strangers Within our Gates in 1909. As superintendent of All People's Mission in Winnipeg, he had personal contact with the many races flocking to that city and in Strangers Within our Gates proposed to acquaint the Canadian people with this "motley crowd" and to impress upon the young people in particular affiliated problems. The bibliography suggests that Woodsworth relied greatly on American opinion, publications, and case studies for his information on immigration and its attendant problems. He attempted to equate these findings with the Canadian situation, believing it to be belatedly paralleling American development. The danger to the Canadian nation posed by the influx of countless numbers and types of foreigners caused the author of the Introduction to strongly recommend Woodsworth's book to his fellow Canadians:

> I can with confidence commend this pioneer Canadian work on this subject to the careful consideration of those who are desirous of understanding and grappling with this great and national danger. For there is a danger and it is national! Either we must educate and elevate the incoming multitudes or they will drag us and our children down to a lower level. We must see to it that the civilization and ideals of Southeastern Europe are not transplanted to or perpetuated on our virgin soil.[28]

Concerned for Canadian national consciousness and identity, with the crisis facing the nation magnified by the fact that the majority of immigrants were non-English-speaking, Woodsworth examined different immigrant groups categorically--British, American, Scandinavian, German, French, Southeastern European, Austro-Hungarian, Balkan, Hebrew,

Levantine, Italian, Oriental, and Negro and Indian--to ascertain their desirability for Canada. Only the comments on those immigrants originating in Southeastern Europe or Austria-Hungary are pertinent to a survey of the literature on the Ukrainians in Canada. Woodworth admitted that to most of his contemporaries this area was a terra incognita, distinguished by a confusion of nationalities, languages, religions and political allegiances. He looked at the Doukhobors and Lithuanians in some depth as composing a substantial proportion of the immigration from Russia, and examined the Bohemians, Slovaks, Poles, and Hungarians from Austria-Hungary. Those immigrants who called themselves "Russ" were the Little Russians, "closely allied to the Rusniaks or Ruthenians of Galicia and Bukovina."[29] Recognizing a relationship between the Little Russians and Ruthenians, although not realizing that they constituted one nationality, Woodsworth discussed the Little Russians with the Galicians under the heading of Austria-Hungary. The section on the Ruthenians, as well as those on the Poles and Doukhobors, were written by A. R. Ford of the Winnipeg Telegram. Thus the views expressed cannot be directly attributed to Woodsworth but his inclusion of Ford's articles without comment or criticism permits one to conclude that Woodsworth condoned his outlook and accepted his statements.

Figuring disproportionately in police courts, violent crimes, and penetentiaries, the Ruthenian[30] had created a markedly adverse impression among the Canadians with whom he now resided. Ford commented: "Centuries of poverty and oppression have, to some extent, animalized him. Drunk, he is quarrelsome and dangerous. The flowers of courtesy and refinement are not abundant in the first generation of immigrants."[31] Nevertheless, the Galician provided much of the unskilled labor that

was building Canada, and, while not overly enterprising as a farmer, he was making progress both agriculturally and educationally. Ford continued to say: "But he is a patient and industrious workman. He is ambitious. He is eager to become Canadianized. He does not cling to a language which is rich in words that express sorrow and despondency and misery, and meagre in those that express aspiration and joy and hope. Above all, he yearns to get on the land and to own some acres of his own."[32]

The final chapters of Strangers Within our Gates examined immigration itself--its causes, effects, and restrictions; assimilation; and the challenge to the church. Disturbed by the racial, economic, social, and political effects of immigration on Canadian national life, Woodsworth favored immigration restrictions, excluding not only individuals but also certain classes. He mentioned only the Orientals, mentally and physically fit but displacing European labourers and unassimiable. The assimilation of the desirable and adaptable races required the mobilization of various agencies--the church; the school; political clubs and organizations; the labor union; and the press, both in the native language and in English. It was also imperative that Anglo-Canadians abandon their attitude of superiority and recognize the value in other languages and religions. "Loyalty to the old is the best guarantee of loyalty to the new"[33] was a theme to be adopted by later advocates of ethnic diversity, particularly in reference to such nationalistic groups as the Ukrainians.[34]

In turning to the challenge facing the churches, Woodsworth again focused directly on the Ruthenians as their religious tradition was so divorced from his own experience and convictions and because the

Methodist and Presbyterian churches were active in the Ukrainian mission field. It was the evangelical minister who characterized the religious tendencies of the Slav:

> The Slav is essentially religious, but his religious instincts have never yet found true expression. The move to the new land means a shaking of the very foundations of belief. The old associations are left behind, the mind is prepared for new impressions, the individual is thrown into an entirely different social life, and is enveloped by a different religious atmosphere. Sometimes he may cling tenaciously, desperately, to the old beliefs; often he renounces them entirely. Modifications must take place. The desire for light and liberty lies behind even the excesses into which some plunge. Light and liberty--these are what are needed.[35]

The Slavs ultimately had to work out their own salvation as reformation could proceed only from within, but meanwhile it was the churches' responsibility to preach, to educate, and to ameliorate present social conditions.

As was to prevail in much English-language literature on the Ukrainians in Canada, Strangers Within our Gates examined the Ukrainians only as one of many nationalities and in relation to the general Canadian issues of immigration and assimilation. The third work to be published in this period dealing significantly with the Ukrainians also studied them as only one group among many although emphasis rested on them. The Education of the New Canadian was written in 1918 by James T. M. Anderson, Director of Education among New Canadians in Saskatchewan. It too focused on the question of assimilation but from the educational standpoint. The adult immigrant, Anderson admitted, would never become a true Canadian "imbued with the highest Anglo-Saxon ideals" as his habits, loyalties, and thought patterns would remain those of the homeland. It was the New Canadian youth who were to be captured at their most impressionable age and equipped through the agencies of the public school and Anglo-Saxon teacher for assuming their responsibilities

as intelligent Canadian citizens.

The Education of the New Canadian was largely a manual for instruction in the English language and Canadian ideals for teachers employed in the foreign colonies of Western Canada. In both urban foreign ghettos and rural ethnic blocs, of which the Ruthenian, German Mennonite and Doukhobor were the most conspicuous, the school was frequently the only Canadianizing force present, making the influences of Anglo-Saxon teachers of unquestionable character and patriotic dedication paramount. Anderson wished to impress upon these teachers their duty to Canada and the British Empire and the magnitude of their role in assimilating the non-English-speaking foreigner:

> Teachers! this is the kind of work required of you in the foreign settlements. You must get acquainted with these people of divers nationalities and interpret to them what our Canadian citizenship means. The solution of the racial problem lies almost wholly in your hands; the future of our glorious country largely depends upon your attitude on this national issue.[36]

Claiming impartiality and insight gained during ten years "intimate personal acquaintance" with different nationalities, Anderson commenced his study with a brief survey of the European background, life in Canada, and progress of the numerically dominant immigrants--the Scandinavians, Slavs, and Germans. As the majority of the Slavs in Canada were Ruthenians from Galicia and Bukovina, he concentrated on them, examining their life in both Austria and Canada.[37] Writing near the termination of World War I, Anderson was one of the first Anglo-Saxons to note that "Ukrainian" was the national designation of both the Austrian Ruthenians and the Little Russians. His conclusions regarding the Ukrainians as potential Canadian citizens were optimistic in spite of his hostility toward the activities of certain priests and nationalist agitators to promote the Ruthenian language in the public school.

Anderson enumerated certain Slavic failings--a gross attitude toward sexual morality, a lack of collective wisdom, a tendency for anarchy, a passivity in temperament, and a reluctance to accept the consequences of telling the truth--which did little to enhance the image of the Ruthenian. His redeeming qualities included a religious nature, a willingness to endure hardship, and a genius for self-expression.[38] There was no danger, however, that Slavic racial or religious ideals would preponderate in Canada. They were those of a peasant culture and the second generation was rapidly transcending that milieu.

War had elevated Canada to nationhood. National unity thus demanded the education and assimilation of the non-English-speaking New Canadians. While a night school program would furnish the foreign adult population with the rudiments of English and citizenship ideals and information on technical subjects, the public school was the primary vehicle for teaching English, disseminating knowledge on Canada, and inspiring patriotism for the new country. "This is the great melting pot into which must be placed the divers racial groups, and from which will eventually emerge the pure gold of Canadian citizenship."[39] Severely censuring the bilingual school system and half-educated foreign teacher, particularly the venture to train Ruthenian teachers in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, Anderson favored the unilingual policy adopted among the Ruthenians in Alberta as the ideal. He advocated the Direct Method of teaching English (i.e., without the intermediary of the mother tongue) and provided concrete examples and lesson plans. Many of his illustrations of the activities and methodology of individual teachers came from Ruthenian districts. In these illustrations the Anglo-Saxon teacher emerged as an enlightening missionary and Anderson noted the positive

response of the Ruthenians when "a strong type of Canadian manhood or womanhood is placed in their midst."[40]

The Education of the New Canadian was written strictly from the Anglo-Saxon point of view and campaign to maintain the British character of Canada. No attempt was made to understand the requirements and desires of the immigrant, as, for example, why he might historically and psychologically wish his language to be retained. The Ukrainian desire for the teaching of Ukrainian was attributed to the machinations of "priests and nationalist agitators" and Anderson doubted that it was rooted in the people themselves. The book's entire purpose was to examine how to best teach the non-Anglo-Saxon child the English language and a veneration of British-Canadian ideals and institutions, not primarily for his own sake but for the prosperity and security of Canada. Anderson's emphasis on the indispensable function of the rural school and Anglo-Saxon teacher of highest ideals in this process of assimilating the non-British continued well into the inter-war period.

The first research conducted specifically on the Ukrainians was undertaken during World War I by the Bureau of Social Research for the governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta under the directorship of James S. Woodsworth. The report of the investigation, "Ukrainian Rural Communities," appeared in January of 1917. Unfortunately, it has not been published and exists only in a few isolated copies.[41] This is particularly regrettable as it was an extensive work on contemporary conditions and developments in specific Ukrainian rural communities from different points of view. The investigation did not propose a survey of all Ukrainian rural communities in Western Canada but limited itself to certain districts thought to be typical: Stuartburn,

Whitemouth and Brokenhead, Interlake, Sandy Lake, Dauphin, Canora, Insinger, Veregin, Vonda, Prince Albert, Hafford, Mundare, Shandro, Chipman, and Lamont.

The report consisted partly of comments by school teachers, educationalists, and Protestant missionaries serving in these communities regarding their observations of Ukrainian customs, traits, environment, daily routine, and progress materially, educationally and spiritually. It was the assumption of the participants in the project that this approach would simultaneously eliminate the personal equation and provide a more comprehensive view of a complex situation. They did not attempt, however, to investigate conditions in Ukrainian rural communities totally or predominantly from the perspective of the Anglo-Saxon outsider and observer. Personal immigrant experiences were included in the report and, more significantly, two Ukrainians officially participated in the investigation itself. Ivan Petruschevich offered his suggestions and wrote a section on the history and possibilities of the Ukrainians, while Wasyl Swystun was engaged as field investigator. In addition to a chapter on the historical background and traditions of the Ukrainians, he contributed the summaries on over half of the communities examined. Woodsworth, in his introduction to the report, drew on Our Slavic Fellow Citizens for an outline of Ukrainian national history, indicating on his part an increased awareness of the legitimacy of the Ukrainian people as a national collectivity and not simply a stereotyped peasantry since the publication of Strangers Within our Gates.

From the data collected, "Ukrainian Rural Communities" drew four conclusions:

> Our studies show a) that the prosperity of the people is dependent to a large extent upon the character of the country in which they

> have settled; b) that, on the whole, the immigrants remain isolated from their English-speaking neighbors; c) that through the schools the children are being gradually "assimilated" but, in the process are losing much that should be retained; d) that the educational, social, religious and, in general, the spiritual development is not proportionate to the material advancement.[42]

It proceeded from these conclusions to suggest several outstanding needs in the Ukrainian rural communities. They included instruction in sanitation, home-making, and farming methods; medical assistance; religious education; citizenship training; special curricula for non-English-speaking immigrants; enforcement of school attendance; provision of the opportunity to learn English; protection against exploitation; and a unifying agency, such as the school, to initiate and organize social activities in every community. The report also advocated more careful inspection of immigrants, a better system of distribution, closer settlement, help during the transitional period, and an improved rapport between Canadians and Ukrainian immigrants. Almost lost among the recommendations for aiding the Ukrainians in adjusting to Canadian life and standards was the proposal to encourage native handicrafts.[43]

"Ukrainian Rural Communities" can undoubtedly be considered the pioneer English-language study in Ukrainian Canadian historiography. It determined the location and extent of the Ukrainian rural communities in the three prairie provinces and within that framework attempted a detailed characterization of conditions and developments in the Ukrainian settlements of Western Canada. Unlike much of the other literature on the Ukrainians in Canada written during this period, it systematically examined specific Ukrainian communities, recognizing their existence as identifiable entities in which the Ukrainians lived and through which they would adapt to the Canadian environment. The underlying concept or motivation continued to be assimilation but without

the pronounced emphasis on general Canadian objectives common in other contemporary works. This initial interest in the Ukrainian communities of Western Canada was not maintained. For over two decades "Ukrainian Rural Communities" was the sole study to emerge devoted exclusively to the development and history of the Ukrainians in Canada.

In spite of the treatment of the Ukrainians as "enemy aliens," subjects of Austria, in World War I, the literature appearing during these years carried infrequent references to expressions of their loyalty to Canada although it is equally significant that no condemnation for disloyal actions was voiced.[44] The pastoral letter issued by Bishop Nicetas Budka of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church on 27th July, 1914, urging his people to honor their military duty to the Austrian fatherland, did invite criticism although Budka retracted his statements in a second letter on 6th August.[45] Department of Education and Protestant missionary reports contained information on the mental state of affairs and contribution to Canada's war effort in the various Ukrainian communities they served. Burgeoning Ukrainian nationalism was viewed with suspicion but in general little antagonism emerged and as the war and the Russian Revolution progressed Ukrainian hopes for an independent Ukraine were recognized.[46] For the most part, the events of World War I and the Ukrainian Revolution were highly significant in furthering the Canadian's knowledge and understanding of the Ukrainian historical experience.

In this first period of Ukrainian life in Canada, much of the literature emerging on the Ukrainians was purely descriptive and explanatory in an attempt to identify and characterize a people unknown to Canadians. Increased awareness of the immigrants' European background

was discernible in Anglo-Saxon writings by the end of World War I as they progressed from initial peasant stereotypes and vague definitions to more precise indications of Ukrainian national development. Primarily concerned with the Ukrainians' impact on the political, economic, and social structure of Canada, representatives of Canadianizing institutions examined them in relation to major Canadian issues and national prosperity. With emphasis on assimilation from the point of view of the Anglo-Saxon Canadian, little attention was paid to the development of a Ukrainian Canadian society as a distinct and self-perpetuating entity. This in part reflected the embryonic state of this society but also the fact that the Anglo-Saxon, except in rare instances, remained an observer on the outskirts of the vital happenings in the lives of the Ukrainians. The Anglo-Saxon's interests did not promote the consolidation and perpetuation of a Ukrainian Canadian society which touched the larger Canadian scene only at intervals. Consequently, his writings concentrated on investigating the progress of the reverse trend--assimilation to Canadian ideals and standards--although anticipatory comments contributory to the subsequent maturation of a "mosaic" concept as the Canadian identity also appeared.[47] In the inter-war years, English-language literature on the Ukrainians in Canada continued to stress assimilation but it also mirrored the growing popularity of the "mosaic" image of Canada.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Particularly in this chapter Ukrainian, Ruthenian, and Galician will be employed interchangeably, the latter two designations representing the contemporary terms for the Slavic immigrants from Eastern Galicia in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Ruthenian referred solely to the Ukrainians while Canadians frequently applied Galician indiscriminately to all East Europeans and it came to acquire definite derogatory connotations.

[2]W. T. R. Preston, "Report of W. T. R. Preston, Inspector of Agencies in Europe," Annual Report of the Department of the Interior (1899), p. 17.

[3]Not all these teacher experiences have been published. Among the most detailed descriptions of conditions in Ukrainian settlements through the eyes of the resident Anglo-Saxon teacher are two letters contained in the W. M. Martin Papers (pp. 19163-19168 and pp. 19423-19431) at the Saskatchewan Archives, Saskatoon. The second letter, "Some of my Experiences as a Teacher Among the New Canadians," by Elsie M. Bishop was particularly articulate and observant.

[4]Foremost among these publications are Armand Boni, C.Ss.R., Pioniers in Canada: De Belgische in de Provincies Quebec, Manitoba en Saskatchewan (Brussels, 1945), pp. 275, in Flemish, and Emelien Tremblay, C.Ss.R., Le Père Delaere et L'Eglise ukrainienne du Canada (Berthierville, Quebec: Impr. Bernard Ltée., 1961), pp. 355, in French. French Canadian interest in the Ukrainians continued beyond the period of Roman Catholic missionary activity in the Ukrainian colonies. In 1945 a French-language Ph.D. dissertation, "Le status canonique des ukrainiens catholiques du rit ruthine au Canada" by Louis-Eugene Belanger, was submitted to Laval University.

[5]For example, Father Achilles Delaere, a Belgian Redemptorist serving among the Ukrainians at Yorkton, Saskatchewan, wrote a pamphlet entitled Memorandum on the Attempts of Schism and Heresy Among the Ruthenians (commonly called "Galicians") in the Canadian Northwest (Winnipeg: West Canada Publishing Company, Limited, 1909), pp. 42, directed toward encouraging young Canadian Catholic clerics into the Ukrainian mission field to secure the Ukrainians for the Catholic Church, especially in light of Protestant proselytizing. Catholicism not Canadianization was his concern.

[6]For a concise statement of the position of the Presbyterian Church in Canada and its clergy on this issue, see Rev. W. D. Reid, Rev. H. A. Berlis, and Rev. M. C. Kinsale, "The Non-Anglo-Saxons in Canada--Their Christianization and Nationalization," a series of three papers

contained in Addresses Delivered at the Presbyterian Pre-Assembly Congress, held in Massey Hall, Toronto, Saturday, May 31st, to Wednesday, June 4th, 1913, with Reports of Committees (Toronto: Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1913), pp. 119-134.

[7]One of the more ambitious ventures was the creation of the Independent Greek Church under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church in Canada which financed and supervised the movement. Initially enjoying spectacular popularity among the Ukrainians as it utilized Ukrainian priests and the familiar Eastern liturgy and helped alleviate the spiritual vacuum in which the Ukrainians found themselves, its demise was rapid when the Presbyterian Church exerted pressure to adopt Protestant teachings and discard the ritual. In 1913 the Independent Greek clergy were admitted into the ministry of the Presbyterian Church in Canada but their congregations failed to follow.

[8]Especially valuable in this regard and for chronologically depicting developments in the various Presbyterian and Methodist missions are the annual reports and letters on Galician, Austrian, or Ruthenian work contained in the Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church in Canada from 1898 to 1925 and the Missionary Bulletin of the Methodist Church. In addition in 1905 a Ukrainian-language newspaper, Ranok, was founded and assisted financially and editorially by the Presbyterian Church. It soon published articles on farming and gardening, social and moral reform, and national life as well as on religion.

[9]Alexander Jardine Hunter, The Kobzar of the Ukraine; being select poems of Taras Shevchenko (Teulon, Manitoba: the author, 1922), pp. 144; second printing edited by Jaroslav B. Rudnyc'kyj and published in New York by the Ukrainian Pub. Company "Howerla" in 1961 for the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, Institute of Shevchenkology (no. 4).

[10]See Percival Cundy, A Voice from Ukraine (Winnipeg, 1932), a collection of the poetry of Ivan Franko; Ivan Franko: The Poet of Western Ukraine, ed. by Clarence A. Manning (New York: Philosophical Library, 1948), pp. 265; and Spirit of Flame: A Collection of the Works of Lesya Ukrainka (New York: Bookman Associates, 1950), pp. 320.

[11]This is well illustrated by the case of the Independent Greek Church, whose history has received relatively little scrutiny in subsequent publications by the Presbyterian and United churches. For example, the Reverend Edmund H. Oliver, writing in 1932, devoted one paragraph to Presbyterian mission work among the Ukrainians and concluded tersely: "In the end the experiment failed." See Edmund H. Oliver, His Dominion of Canada: A Study in the Background, Development and Challenge of the Missions of the United Church of Canada (Toronto: Women's Missionary Society and the Board of Home Missions of the United Church of Canada, 1932), pp. 198-199.

[12]Howard Angus Kennedy, The Book of the West (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1925), pp. 142-143. This portion of the book at least was written in 1905, following a visit by Kennedy to Western Canada to view the changes wrought since his first journey west in 1885.

[13]The article also discussed Ruthenian immigration to Canada and the remarkable material progress and adaptability shown by the Ukrainians. Its extreme optimism no doubt reflected the Liberal policy of the Winnipeg Free Press, owned by Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior in Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Liberal cabinet to 1905. It was republished in the Yorkton Enterprise (September 9, 1909) and later reprinted with an introduction by V. J. Kaye as "The Ruthenians" in Canadian Slavonic Papers, Vol. I, No. 1 (1968), pp. 96-99.

[14]It is impossible not to generalize when examining the treatment of the Ukrainian immigrant-settlers in travelogues for the remarks are succinct and disparate although certain trends dominate. For a list of those travel diaries considered in this survey, consult the bibliography.

[15]A notable exception was Agnes C. Laut in The Canadian Commonwealth (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Publishers, 1915), Chapter VII "The Coming of the Foreigner," pp. 111-126. While she praised the immigrant from Scandinavia, Iceland, and Germany, her condemnation of the foreigner from southern and eastern Europe was vituperative. He possessed the potential to contaminate Canadian national ideals, encouraged political corruption, promoted crime as one formerly restrained by a "soldier's bayonet" knew not how to handle freedom, and although making less money than the Canadian would become the wealth and power of the future as he spent little. In spite of her vicious attack on the foreigner and his threat to Canadian ideals, Laut opposed his exclusion on the grounds that from the national point of view Canada required his manual labor. At the same time, assimilation was vital. Primary responsibility lay with the school, where the efforts of too many teachers to "manufacture men and women out of mud" had gone unrecognized. (p. 125).

[16]J. H. Hardy, "The Ruthenians in Alberta," Onward (November 1, 1913), p. 346.

[17]Preston, "Report," p. 17.

[18]See also "A Russian Wedding in Alberta" in which Elston recounted the religious and secular ceremonies associated with a Ukrainian wedding. Ukrainian weddings were popular topics among Anglo-Saxon writers probably because of their novelty and because they were one prominent occasion in which an Anglo-Saxon in a Ukrainian community could participate, however vicariously, and hence be able to relate what he had beheld. Apart from simply depicting the wedding observances,

female teachers in particular deplored what they termed "child marriages" in which the child bride was married against her wishes or without her consultation to a man much older than she. Criticisms of the quantities of home brew consumed and the "traditional" fight that concluded the Ukrainian wedding were common.

[19]Elston's mistaken use of "Russian" when referring to the Ruthenians can probably be simply explained. Her descriptions of Ukrainian religious services were exclusively those of the Orthodox Church and at that time the Russian Orthodox Church in America was responsible for the establishment of Orthodox missions among the Ukrainian settlers in Canada. No doubt this association, assisted by the failure of the Russian Church to differentiate between the Russian and Ruthenian peoples, confused Elston.

[20]J. A. Carmichael, Superintendent of Home Missions for Manitoba and the North-West, spoke in this vein in his report contained in the Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-Second General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (1906):

> "...the treatment of the Galicians in their own homes has decided advantages for the missionary, for he has the opportunity of teaching those in the home how to take care of the sick, and of winning the confidence of the homes thus visited, and of laying the foundation of future work. From a missionary standpoint the ordinary medical practice has decided advantages over hospital work." (p. 13).

Although the Presbyterian Church was prompted by the desire to provide the Ukrainians with educational opportunities and medical care, such programs were considered the first indispensable step to greater and more aggressive evangelical work as they served to remove the Ukrainians' prejudices and suspicions.

[21]Ralph Connor, The Foreigner: A Tale of Saskatchewan (Toronto: Westminster Company, Limited, 1909), p. 14.

[22]This is substantiated by the British and American editions of the novel (London and New York: Hodder and Stoughton) which were entitled The Settler: The Story of a Ukrainian Youth. See Sushil K. Jain, compiler, Saskatchewan in Fiction: A Bibliography of Works of Fiction about Saskatchewan and Fiction Written by Saskatchewanians (Regina: University of Saskatchewan, Regina, 1966), p. 4, and Bruce Braden Peel, A Bibliography of the Prairie Provinces to 1953 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press in co-operation with the Saskatchewan Golden Jubilee Committee and the University of Saskatchewan, 1956), p. 224.

[23]Connor, The Foreigner, pp. 87-88.

[24]Ibid., p. 160.

[25]See Ibid., pp. 253-255, for the arguments for and against Galician immigration and education as outlined by French and Brown at their first meeting. This passage is fundamental to understanding Connor's own beliefs regarding the assimilation of the non-Anglo-Saxon for the author clearly was sympathetic to the Presbyterian clergyman, Brown.

[26]Ibid., pp. 371-372.

[27]For example, see John Murray Gibbon, Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Northern Nation (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Limited, 1938), pp. 276-277:

> "The vivacious and graceful dancing of a Polish group at the New Canadian Folk-song and Handicraft Festival held in Winnipeg in 1928, had a marked influence on the attitude taken by Anglo-Saxons towards the foreign born in that city. When that festival was being organized, I was told quite frankly by a number of those whom I met there that the CPR was doing the wrong thing in encouraging these people to retain their old customs. In the course of conversation, it usually developed that the critics were influenced by a novel written 20 years before by Ralph Connor, the popular Canadian novelist, entitled The Foreigner, a somewhat lurid melodrama of the shack-town which had grown up on the skirts of this mushroom city...."

Gibbon persuaded Connor, his friend, to attend the Polish performance, after which Connor remarked: "I always looked on the Poles as husky, dirty laborers whose chief entertainment was drink, but these are delightful, cultivated people. I feel that I have done them an injustice in my book. What can I do to make amends?" Ibid., p. 277. If Gibbon's report is accepted as accurate, Connor had not troubled to become better acquainted with the Slavs in Canada in the twenty years following the publication of The Foreigner.

[28]James S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within our Gates or Coming Canadians, with an Introduction by J. W. Sparling (Toronto: Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Young People's Forward Movement Department, 1909), p. 4.

[29]Ibid., p. 114.

[30]Ford drew a distinction between the comparative standards of the Galicians and Bukovinians: "Illiterate and ignorant as are the Galicians, the Bukovinians are even more so....It is probable that if an analysis were made of the nationality of those charged with crimes, the result would show a far greater number of Bukovinians than Galicians." Ibid., p. 135. Ford's observation is interesting and one only wishes that he had elaborated on his statement. It perhaps reflects the Galician stereotype of the Bukovinians as "unsophisticated and bucolic, rural hayseeds." See John C. Lehr, "Ukrainian Houses in Alberta," Alberta Historical Review, Vol. 21, No. 4 (August, 1973), p. 14.

Examining Ukrainian pioneer cottage architecture in Alberta, Lehr maintained that traces of these traits could be detected in Bukovinian houses, while the Galician houses were often smaller and more conservative, reciprocally reflecting the Bukovinian stereotype of the Galicians as thrifty and miserly.

[31]Woodsworth, Strangers Within our Gates, p. 136.

[32]Ibid., pp. 136-137.

[33]Ibid., p. 289.

[34]During World War I Woodsworth the pacifist continued to emphasize the necessity of recognizing the assets of the different immigrants--ambition, a capacity for patient labor, rich cultures, and often a patriotism needed by Canada who had inherited the liberty for which other nationalities had had to fight. He also criticized the patriotic and religious "Canadianizing" institutions for their undermining of the immigrants' foundation on which to build: "Destroy filial respect and reverence and love of the homeland and what do we have to work on?...If ever we in Canada attain a national ideal, it must be big enough--Catholic enough--to give a place to the highest and best which each class of immigrant brings to this country." See J. S. Woodsworth, "Nation Building," University Magazine, Vol. XIII (February, 1917), pp. 85-99.

[35]Woodsworth, Strangers Within our Gates, p. 305. A spirit of religious independence manifested in the rise of the Independent Greek Church was a further indication of the "leaven of Western civilization" acting upon the Ruthenians.

[36]James T. M. Anderson, The Education of the New Canadian: A Treatise on Canada's Greatest Educational Problem (London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1918), p. 135.

[37]For his information on the European background of the Slavic peoples, Anderson relied on an American publication: Emily Greene Balch, Our Slavic Fellow Citizens (New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1910), pp. 536.

[38]These qualities were not attributed to the Slavs by Anderson independently but were gleaned from Professor Steiner, The Immigrant Tide: Its Ebb and Flow. See Anderson, The Education of the New Canadian, pp. 60-61.

[39]Ibid., p. 114.

[40]Ibid., p. 152.

[41]The Public Archives of Canada holds one copy and a second is

contained in the Martin Papers in the Saskatchewan Archives Office, Saskatoon.

[42]James S. Woodsworth, director, "Ukrainian Rural Communities," Report of Investigation by Bureau of Social Research, Governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta (Winnipeg, January 25, 1917), p. 4.

[43]Ibid., p. 6.

[44]The treatment of the Ukrainians in Canada from 1914 to 1921 as enemy aliens in terms of both government restrictions and public opinion and the inter-relationship of immigrants, politics, and war in Canada during those years has been examined by Joseph Amedée Boudreau in "The Enemy Alien Problem in Canada, 1914-1921" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1965), pp. 213. See also Joseph A. Boudreau, "Western Canada's 'Enemy Aliens' in World War One," Alberta Historical Review, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Winter, 1964), pp. 1-9.

[45]The attacks on Bishop Budka prompted the Roman Catholic Church to rally publicly to his defence. See Catholic Truth Society of Canada, Vindication of Bishop Budka: Full Record of Investigation: A String of Unfounded Charges: Judge Paterson's Summary (Toronto: Catholic Truth Society of Canada, 1919), pp. 6.

[46]Edmund H. Oliver, speaking in 1915 against bilingual education in Saskatchewan, voiced his alarm at the activities of Ukrainian nationalists, particularly in light of the Ruthenians' potential as a political force and their movement into the political arena on the municipal and provincial levels. See Edmund H. Oliver, The Country School in Non-English Speaking Communities in Saskatchewan (originally delivered as an address to the Saskatchewan Public Education League, September 22, 1915, and subsequently published in pamphlet form), pp. 15-18. In this pamphlet Oliver also presented a sympathetic summary of Ukrainian history in terms of national oppression and the debt owed her by Western Europe for bearing devastation by the Mongols "while other more fortunate nations beyond that living hedge developed and prospered." (p. 16).

[47]Prophetic of the interest to be shown by Anglo-Canadians in the inter-war years toward the folksongs and handicrafts of the New Canadians was the translation and annotated publication by Florence Randal Livesay, journalist and author, of Songs of Ukraina with Ruthenian Poems (London, Paris and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, Limited, 1916), pp. 175. The book contained selected pagan, wedding, historical, Cossack, robber and chumak songs as well as poems by Shevchenko, Rudansky, Vorobkievich, and Fedkovich. It closed with a translation of the Ukrainian national anthem. Livesay was assisted in her endeavour by Paul Crath (Pavlo Krat), a Ukrainian student radical who escaped to Canada imbued with social democratic and atheistic ideals but underwent a spiritual transformation in 1915 with ordination into the Presbyterian ministry following in 1917. In his introduction to Livesay's translation, Crath provided an idyllic description of the Ukraine. With Crath, Livesay also published an article, "Religion of Ancient Ukraine--in

light of Archeology and Folklore," Scientific American Supplement, Vol. 85 (February 23, 1918), pp. 114-115. In 1940 she translated and published Hryhory Kvitka's novel Marusia. The Introduction by Lord Tweedsmuir stressed the need for Canadians to become more familiar with the culture of the East Europeans now resident in Canada.

CHAPTER II

THE PERIOD 1919 TO 1945

Assimilation Versus the "Mosaic"

Participation in the conflict between 1914 and 1918 launched Canada into the inter-war era with new confidence in herself as a nation. From the Anglo-Saxon point of view this reinforced the necessity of assimilation, particularly with the resumption of mass immigration to Canada, as the vision of the Canadian nation continued to be British in character to counteract American pressures. Simultaneously, however, it is reasonable to assert that greater maturity and faith in herself permitted Anglo-Canada to evaluate seriously the potential contribution of the non-British nationalities to Canadian development, drawing on their own historical experiences and traditions. Gradually, the concept of the "mosaic" acquired shape and depth.[1] In the case of either assimilation or the "mosaic," the Ukrainians were a major force with which to contend. The inter-war literature on them reflected this dual concern and in a manner more directed and concrete than had the literature of the pre-World War I years. Not only were individuals interested in Ukrainian Canadian development but national Canadian bodies of various hues purposely sponsored or endorsed studies on the Ukrainian Canadians.

A second factor positively affecting Ukrainian Canadian historiography was increased familiarity with the Ukrainian Canadians on the part of the Anglo-Saxons who still constituted the sole English-language

source of information on the Ukrainians in Canada. This growing familiarity emerged partially from the fact that the longer the Ukrainians were resident in Canada, the greater and more prolonged were their contacts with Anglo-Canadians and the more established became their role in Canadian life, making increased knowledge of them by Anglo-Canadians inevitable. Also significant were events during World War I which briefly elevated the question of Ukrainian national independence to international prominence. Repercussions in Canada were apparent among the Ukrainians, for the Ukrainian and Russian Revolutions stimulated both the crystallization of Ukrainian national consciousness and the complex politicization of the Ukrainian Canadian community. Anglo-Saxon Canada reacted to both phenomena with trepidation. The discussion of the Ukrainian question on the world stage also injected Anglo-Canadians with a knowledge of Ukrainian history hitherto unobtainable. Their first post-war writings demonstrated the favorable impact of this knowledge on their assessment and definition of the Ukrainians in Canada.

The evolution in general Canadian understanding of who the Ukrainians were and what their historical development had been is most striking in an author whose writings bridged the war years. In 1919 Miriam Elston continued to publish articles on the Alberta Ukrainians, emphasizing their educational, material and spiritual progress and adaptation to Canadian ways. She utilized Ukrainian enlistment figures and contributions to the Patriotic and Red Cross Funds to prove their assimilation, patriotism to the adopted country, and desire to exist not in segregation but as part of the Canadian community. Although Elston still constantly interchanged "Russian" and "Ruthenian," she

revealed a vague awareness of her error:

> In Canada the Russian and his brother, the Russo-Austrian, were usually, in pre-war days, spoken of collectively as Ruthenians. Most of the Russians in Canada are what are known as Low Russians, a name given to the peasant of Southern Russia. The majority of the Austrians in Canada are, in reality, Russo-Austrians, that is, they are blood brothers to the Low Russians--a part of the Low Russian people who have overflowed the boundaries of Austria. Their language, with slight provincial differences, is the one language. Their manners, their habits, their customs, are very similar.[2]

In a second article published that year, "Our Own Slav Problem: Ukrainians in Canada," Elston first used the word "Ukrainian" and intimated that conditions for which she had previously condemned the Ukrainians were not their fault personally but rooted in their history:

> When we recount the history of the Ukrainian race in Canada, we realize that we are recounting the history of a people who have, under rather adverse circumstances, made good. The first and foremost of these adverse circumstances have been dire poverty, ignorance and the superstition that always stalks beside ignorance. As a people they have not been responsible for any of these conditions. They are but the natural outcome of the oppression under which they have lived in the old land.[3]

Thus, the obstacles, physical and psychological, that the Ukrainians had to date successfully surmounted, were doubly admirable.

An article by F. Heap, also in 1919, "Ukrainians in Canada: An Estimate of the Presence, Ideals, Religion, Tendencies and Citizenship of Perhaps Three Hundred Thousand Ukrainians in Canada," in many respects paralleled the tone of Elston's post-war publications. Heap, too, underlined expressions of Ukrainian loyalty to Canada and the British Empire in the war just concluded as well as their agricultural and educational progress. He also provided an abbreviated but faulty sketch of Ukrainian national history, totally omitting the Polish influence on Ukrainian development. Heap was the first Anglo-Saxon to mention organization within the Ukrainian community itself, noting the

establishment of Ukrainian boarding schools, libraries, reading societies, and musical and dramatic associations. Of Ukrainian nationalism in Canada he harbored little fear:

> Their nationalism in so far as they can be said to display any, is unlike French or Quebec nationalism, in that it has no ulterior designs of separate government or political supremacy, and is confined practically to protection, co-operation and mutual helpfulness, and ambition to "do well" as a class, and cannot be said to amount to even excessive clannishness.[4]

As the Ukrainians entered the post-war era, their high naturalization rate and participation in municipal and school government indicated the desire to become a permanent and active segment of the Canadian community. The time was opportune for a more cordial attitude toward them to be extended by government and public bodies, Canadian clubs, church groups, employers and individuals.

The reports on Ukrainian mission work presented to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada after 1918 and prior to Church Union in 1925 also divulged a greater knowledge of the Ukrainian past and contemporary situation in Europe than they had before the outbreak of war.[5] In addition they expressed alarm at growing manifestations of Ukrainian nationalism in Canada. Their own stringent tone regarding the total assimilation of the Ukrainians to Anglo-Saxon ideals, institutions, and ways of life, however, was being modified. They now better envisaged the Ukrainians' traditional antagonism to assimilation and were more receptive to the concept of a composite nationality for Canada:

> The word "assimilate" which they [the Ukrainians] have grown to hate means for them extinction. What the best of them are contending for, is not that they should be absorbed and simply lose their identity, but that they should be allowed to come in as partners in this great community of races in Canada and to make their contribution in blood and in character and endowment to the new nation that shall arise in our great land. As a matter of fact their

> contention is our own view point. Whether we like to admit it or not these people are partners with us making contributions in blood and character in the new life of this nation. The wisest thing to do, would seem to me is to admit them as such, to accept what is best and overcome as far as possible what is unworthy of good citizens by teaching them the best that we ourselves know and prize highly. All our efforts to keep separate from them will be just as futile as their efforts to keep separate from us. And we are learning every day what a great contribution they are able to make. Like ourselves they are real democrats and have often paid the supreme price to advocate their principles. Like ourselves they believe in the necessity of an educated citizenship and many years ago they had in their native land among the best systems of education to be found in Europe. Through the medium of our School Home we are having practical demonstration of the fact that in ability to acquire, in serious application to work, the children of the New Canadian will equal if not surpass our own children.[6]

While this statement was a personal opinion and not an official Presbyterian pronouncement, it was echoed in 1924 by a second individual reporting to the General Assembly on Ukrainian work:

> The people are warned of the danger of being absorbed in the cosmopolitian life of Canada and the disappearance of every national characteristic peculiarly Ukrainian. It seems difficult to persuade the Ukrainian people that they are making a distinct contribution to the character and quality of Canadian life. All racial groups must come to see that nationality in Canada is not the gift of any one people but the sum of the qualities of more than 60 different nations in their representatives who share in common the inheritance of this land.[7]

For the present, however, as immigration from Continental Europe resumed, assimilation remained the dominant theme in Anglo-Saxon writings concerned with the Ukrainians in Canada. In 1920 William G. Smith published A Study in Canadian Immigration, endorsed by the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene.[8] From an analysis of past practices and their success or failure, Smith's study provided guidelines for a prudent immigration policy to be adopted by Canada in the 1920's to ensure national prosperity and health. Although focusing on the history of Canadian immigration in general and recommendations for improved immigration laws, it also considered individual racial groups as

an integral component of the immigration question.

Like other post-war writers, Smith underlined Ukrainian agricultural progress, achieved with negligible government assistance; advancement in education; and demonstrations of loyalty in enlistment for service in the recently-concluded war, the learning of the English language, and the adoption of Canadian ways. As new ideas slowly penetrated the Ukrainian colonies, assimilation proceeded apace. Although gleaning much of his factual information from American figures and situations, Smith also provided Canadian figures and percentages by nationality for mental and physical defectives, illiteracy, and crime. His tables and statistics enjoyed only limited applicability to the Ukrainians as they were predominantly included solely with the Austro-Hungarians or Russians. There was little specific emphasis on them as a unique immigrant group.

Smith alluded to a "composite nationality" but continued to stress assimilation through assistance, goodwill, friendship, and acceptance of the best that the immigrant had to offer on the part of the Old Canadian. The cultivation of a new national spirit was essential but did not demand the complete renunciation of previous loyalties:

> But the cultivation of that national spirit which is Canada need not in the slightest interfere with the tender memories that remain in the heart of the new citizen for the land of his birth. Desire to live and serve under a new flag does not require that a man hate the one under which he was born. Nowhere does that apply more forcibly in Canada at the present time than among those Slavic peoples whose compatriots, like the Poles, Ukrainians and others are trying to fashion new nations amid the welter of Europe.[9]

Regardless of the above statement, Smith's concept of Canada clearly remained British in character. He closed his study with a plea to young patriotic Canadians to "man the outposts of Canadian nationality" in the schools, educating the immigrant for the future, and so complete

the construction of the national superstructure whose foundations had been humbly laid by their forefathers.

In 1922 Smith wrote a related study, Building the Nation: The Churches' Relation to the Immigrant, as the last in a series of mission-study textbooks sponsored by the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregationalist churches of Canada. From the basic contention that the Church was an indispensable factor in building the Canadian nation and forging a national spirit, Smith outlined its role in the process of Canadianizing the non-English-speaking immigrants and developing among them a common devotion to Canada. It could best execute its duty through three primary channels--the school and teacher, the hospital and doctor, the Bible and evangelist. By recruiting and training young Canadians for service in these fields, it would discharge its obligations. Although the British connection and Anglicization of the foreigner were now superseded by the urgent creation of a Canadian national spirit and unity, the three avenues of pursuit by the Canadian Protestant churches curiously echoed the policies that they had adopted to Anglicize and Christianize the Ukrainian immigrant in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Building the Nation dealt much more extensively with the Ukrainians than had A Study in Canadian Immigration. Concerned as it was with the development of a Canadian national spirit, Building the Nation considered Ukrainian nationalism in some detail, for the fate of the Ukraine inevitably evoked a response in Canada. Polish-Ukrainian animosity, originating in Europe but transferred to and perpetuated in Canada, was a case in point. Consequently, the cultivation of a Canadian national spirit was all the more mandatory as a common loyalty

to Canada would bury old hatreds. Suggesting that the twentieth century could conceivably witness the gratification of Ukrainian hopes for independence, Smith described the character of Ukrainian nationalism:

> Lack of political unity seems to have intensified the desire for nationality, and through the vicissitudes of years, inspired by tradition, poets and historians, there has grown the hope that the land of the Ukraine would one day be the land of a free and independent people taking their place among the nations of Europe. It is this slumbering fire of nationalism which to-day is glowing into the demand for political and geographical unity, and seeking recognition in the councils of the world. This is the spirit which may be found more or less in evidence in various communities of Ukrainians in Canada, in the spirit of "nationalism."[10]

Smith did not, however, flinch at or condemn its revelation among the Ukrainian Canadians:

> The eager desire of the Ukrainian living in Canada for the freedom and nationality of his own people in Europe--so called nationalism --may, unfortunately, be regarded as un-Canadian or anti-Canadian; and it need not be denied that this is possible or actual. But eagerness for the national independence of the land and people of one's fathers is not inseparably connected with hostility to the land of one's residence or adoption. Rather devotion to one is the promise and potency of devotion to the other.[11]

Canadianization encompassed both the adoption of external traits of Canadian life and the development of a devotion to the new country. Currently, while the Ukrainians in Canada had prospered economically and embraced Canadian ways in their outward and visible forms, their assimilation emotionally and patriotically remained in abeyance.

In contrast to Smith's two studies which discussed the Ukrainians in Canada only superficially as elements of general Canadian issues, other works appeared during the 1920's with greater concentration on their assimilation and progress. Frank Yeigh, for example, wrote an article entitled "New Canadians Making Good" in 1922, illustrating the assimilation of the Ukrainians, and other immigrant groups more marginally, through specific individuals who had successfully penetrated and

adapted to the Canadian world. He stressed educational progress and subsequent public service characteristic of good citizenship. His confidence in the function of the Anglo-Saxon teacher and Presbyterian Christian influence in transforming Ukrainian youths into Canadians was pronounced. It was Yeigh's expressed purpose to eradicate erroneous convictions held by certain Anglo-Saxons that the foreigner was ignorant and illiterate. Although he spoke from the belief that a new attitude toward the non-Anglo-Saxon in Canada was timely, "New Canadians Making Good" conveyed the impression that Yeigh too considered the foreigner elevated by becoming Canadian.

One of the first theses to examine the Ukrainians in Canada was submitted to the University of Alberta in 1925. "The Rural School as a Community Centre: A Discussion Dealing with the Problem of the Assimilation of New Canadians in Western Canada" by John W. McAllister, was McAllister's personal record of how he as a teacher transformed the Angle Lake School in northeastern Alberta into the centre of educational, social and recreational activities for the entire community. Although a decidedly unscholarly thesis, it is now interesting as an example of the actual implementation of the Anglo-Canadian program to make the rural public school the most vital focal point in a foreign district. In spite of the fact that the Ruthenians constituted one-half of the population in the area under study and the school itself straddled the border between the extensive Ukrainian colony to the west and English settlement to the east, "The Rural School as a Community Centre" was deprived of much of its potential significance as an early contribution to the literature on the Ukrainians in Canada. McAllister noted that "the problem of handling the school successfully...included...very

careful treatment of international, political and religious questions in order to bind this cosmopolitan settlement into one co-operative unit,"[12] but he failed to reveal how he had tackled the problem. McAllister concentrated on concrete factors--the development of a playground, school garden, experimental station, sports, competitions, attractive landscaping, and social gatherings around the school. There was little direct or theoretical reference to the question of assimilating the New Canadians as McAllister instead attempted to show how the community school in action, under a wise and dedicated teacher, could facilitate and promote the process. His own achievements were commendable.

Ukrainian economic progress, as well as educational and social to a lesser degree, were examined in 1928 in a series of articles by Peter H. Bryce, for twenty years Chief Medical Officer of the Federal Immigration Service, under the title The Value to Canada of the Continental Immigrant. Bryce had toured Western Canada in 1927 to investigate changes wrought among the continental immigrants in the two decades since he had admitted them to the new land. By illustrating through specific examples, tables, and statistics the material and social progress and assimilation of their representatives already settled in Canada, his book was intended to support continued continental immigration. It was perhaps also a rebuttal to those who would have restricted such immigration on the grounds that it retarded Canadian national development. Bryce mentioned in particular those "in high places, as in the Church, who allow themselves at times to be carried away by their prejudices, uttering words unworthy of their station and calling."[13]

The initial chapters of The Value to Canada of the Continental

Immigrant were a travelogue describing conditions as Bryce witnessed them in several colonies established by different nationalities. In a predominantly anecdotal manner, he provided concrete examples of Ukrainian material progress and prosperity drawn from across Western Canada, noting in contrast the Interlake district of Manitoba which would have been better left in its virgin state. Admitting that his survey was limited, Bryce nevertheless considered his general conclusions justified:

> In a word, we see everywhere in the three provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta that the continental immigrants have remained agriculturists to the extent of at least 75% of their total numbers, performed the tasks essential to the prosperity of the towns and cities there and of Canada, and are giving themselves gladly to the building up of great prosperous communities and provinces where, quite properly, native-born British Canadians in large measure guide the ship of state toward her destined haven of nationhood.[14]

The distinction between the respective roles of the British Canadian and continental immigrant in attaining Canada's national destiny is clear. Although convinced of the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon, in presenting what was essentially an economic argument in favor of continental immigration, including Ukrainian, Bryce readily acknowledged that the continental immigrant had been invaluable to Canada in the development of her natural resources.

In the early 1920's the Masonic Order of Saskatchewan established a War Memorial Scholarship Fund for teachers who contracted to teach at least a year in one of the "more backward non-English-speaking districts" of that province. Two-thirds of those districts chosen were predominantly Ukrainian. One of the selected teachers who, by his own admission, spent "three happy years" in one such district, was Robert England, later Continental Superintendent of the Colonization Department of the CNR. In 1929, on the basis of his own experiences and the

detailed reports submitted by the scholarship teachers regarding their observations of daily life, conditions in the community, progress and lack of such, traditions, and racial characteristics of the people among whom they were located, England published a study on the assimilation of the continental immigrants entitled The Central European Immigrant in Canada. In its emphasis on the role of the public school in assimilating the non-Anglo-Saxon, The Central European Immigrant in Canada was the successor to Anderson's The Education of the New Canadian.

As the teachers were said to be "intimately acquainted" with conditions in their respective communities and their comments based on primary evidence not hearsay or prejudiced opinion, the Masonic Order asserted that England's book "should prove the most authoritative document on Canadianization problems ever issued in Canada."[15] England himself claimed to treat the subject objectively and without bias. However, one must remember that the teachers on whose statements he drew his conclusions were themselves amateur observers, little trained in immigrant psychology, ignorant of the European background of the people in their districts, bound mentally by the attitudes and prejudices of their time, and alien figures in a frequently closely-knit community. Their comments cannot be accepted unconditionally.

The first section of The Central European Immigrant in Canada outlined the problem of assimilating the Central European. England also emphasized the possibility of the British in Canada being submerged and their standard of living, political, economic and social creeds endangered. He commented on the situation in Saskatchewan: "Allowing for the preponderance of British stock in towns and villages, it is quite

reasonable to conclude that British stock is outnumbered in northern rural Saskatchewan by two to one."[16] This fact underscored the magnitude of the task confronting the scholarship teachers as they invaded communities with racial, social, and cultural milieu difficult to penetrate and where remnants of medieval civilization persisted.

England's own descriptions of the Ukrainians abounded in stereotypes and generalizations. In their native land, he contended, they were unenterprising, unambitious, and impractical, preferring alcohol and gambling to work. Goitre was common, cleanliness not esteemed, and parasites tolerated.[17] Certain tenuous and unverifiable statements uttered when describing a Ukrainian village in the old world bordered on the absurd. For example:

> Passing through the crowded market, one notices a feature now a commonplace in Western Canada, that the Ruthenians seem to stand closer together, and make hotter, denser groups than most other people. This, however, is more marked in the case of the Jews.[18]

Such a remark forces one to accept other of England's observations with reservations. Finally, deemed the most backward of the Slavs but independent and nationalistic, venerating their language, traditions, and history, the Ukrainians had maintained their dream of an autonomous state.[19]

Part Two of England's study examined the Masonic project itself. It provided numerous accounts of social and economic conditions in non-English districts served by the scholarship teachers and delineated the vital influence of the non-English rural school, including its potential as a community centre under the guidance of a patriotic and dedicated Anglo-Saxon teacher. Ostensibly, the project thought of the community as a unit in which the economic organization, school, church, home, club, and cultural background of its members were viewed in

interaction, but in actuality it considered the non-indigeneous school, largely to the exclusion of other forces, as the primary and pivotal factor. England referred briefly and favourably to the German, Scandinavian, French-speaking, and Mennonite districts, then turned to those predominantly Ukrainian as they constituted the majority of the localities involved in the project.

The picture created of conditions in Ukrainian communities was in general negative. England was not overly optimistic toward Ukrainian social and economic progress, and his criticism of agricultural developments was in an area regarded by other contemporary writers as one of remarkable progress:

> Pioneer conditions are to be expected in the newer districts, but it will come as a shock to most to realise the small amount of economic progress that has been made in some older districts, where the population is Slav in origin. In all districts the gardens are well kept and productive, so that it would appear that the South-eastern peasant's initial difficulty lies in accommodating himself to the larger farming unit of Western Canada.[20]

The latter observation itself was perceptive. England conceded that the successful had prevailed against great obstacles but many of his statements, in addition to those of the scholarship teachers, were both uncharitable and questionable as they reflected the opinions and presumptions of an outsider only superficially acquainted with the inner life of the Ukrainians.[21] England drew several conclusions from the descriptions provided by the scholarship teachers, and in spite of his claims of objectivity, a certain bias is apparent as he and the teachers judged not through an understanding and knowledge of the Ukrainian cultural milieu but from within their own Anglo-Saxon prejudices and standards. For example, they stated that children were overworked and women underprivileged, the slaves of their husbands, and chattels in

marriage.[22] The Ukrainians little desired social organization and revealed negligible evidence of sportsmanship and an espirit de corps. Owing to their unsavory hygienic traditions, health conditions could not be otherwise than poor. England concluded: "All the scholarship teachers' reports give evidence of unsatisfactory conditions in the house and on the farm."[23] As much of the economic and social backwardness witnessed in the Ukrainian communities was due to a lack of education, the rural school staffed by an Anglo-Saxon teacher was essential to disseminate knowledge and dispel ignorance.

The school was not to be "a monastic institution divorced from the pursuits and interests of the community," for a capable teacher could "make the rural school what the church has been, an institution loved by all, respected by all--a great moral as well as educational power in the land,"[24] the converging point for the domestic, social, physical, intellectual, and economic life of a community. Although England recognized that the school in a non-English district was an alien institution not readily accepted by and identified with the community, he continued to stress the role of the Anglo-Saxon teacher as an accepted community leader, "determining attitudes, inculcating habits, suggesting ideals, fostering hope, giving perspectives." He was to be an exemplary influence on the foreign mind, conveying "Anglo-Saxon ideas of sportsmanship and service," concepts of chivalry, courage, courtesy and kindness, and "the humaneness of the Anglo-Saxon," as though the Anglo-Saxon people enjoyed a monopoly of such qualities. England's vision of the role of the Anglo-Saxon teacher in a foreign community was perhaps too unrealistic and idealistic as he remained on the periphery of integral religious, social, and cultural activities.

The final section of The Central European Immigrant in Canada was in a sense more theoretical, examining the psychology of assimilation and outlining the practical problems of immigration, assimilation, and educational administration with special reference to the situation in Western Canada. Opposing coercion in Canadianization or assimilation, England stated:

> We cannot compel people to accept our standards, our customs or our ways. The work of assimilation must not be a work of putting into bondage. It must be a task of emancipation. It must be a challenge and a call to wider perspectives, saner ideals, better habits and customs, but greater responsibility.[25]

England's fascination with the idea of progress caused him to favour the rejection of much that he saw in the Central European peasant's heritage and psychology--"patriarchal and ecclesiastical authority, parochialism, attachment to the soil, and inferiority complex through political disabilities, underprivileged women and children, primitive methods sanctioned by tradition."[26] Equally objectionable were an immaturity and a capacity for only limited continued mental growth. Progress was feasible only through the goodwill and co-operation of both old and new Canadians, seeking their roots in loyalty to the community and gradually expanding to promote unity and progress on a national scale. England concluded:

> Canada has a great opportunity, as a residuary legatee of British ideals of tolerance and fair play on the North American continent, to be the interpreter and reconciler of a new world. Our great land, with its diverse races and double culture challenges our political sagacity and courage to be on the side of the forward looking forces. If we fumble with our message in the world, what Science calls Progress and the theologian God, will find another messenger.[27]

In general The Central European Immigrant in Canada provided a derogative image and assessment of the Ukrainians and their communities in Western Canada. The excerpts from the reports of the scholarship

teachers bear the stamp of the teachers having examined the Ukrainians separated from their source and judged them on a scale determined by that with which they were familiar themselves. While some historical background was given for other groups anxious to preserve much of their heritage in Canada, notably the Doukhobors and Mennonites, there was extremely little of a parallel nature for the Ukrainians, their European background being described solely in terms of the picturesque village and unique customs. Regarding the observations and conclusions of the scholarship teachers, it is to be conceded that every individual enjoys the right to his own comments and opinions. It is an entirely different matter, however, when such are presented as authoritative and objective information. This constitutes the great weakness of England's study. The Central European Immigrant in Canada is useful as a record of the Ukrainian character, habits, customs, and conditions of daily life as viewed through Anglo-Saxon eyes. Its primary function, however, as an early component of the English-language literature on the Ukrainians in Canada is its contribution to the role of the rural public school and Anglo-Saxon teacher in Canadianizing and assimilating the non-English-speaking immigrant and his children.

With the publication of The Central European Immigrant in Canada official and semi-official interest in the contemporary problem of Canadianizing and assimilating the non-Anglo-Saxon through the agencies of the rural public school and Anglo-Saxon teacher attained its zenith. Henceforth, literary activity in this field was removed to the arena of university research. Emphasis was increasingly placed on specific, limited, and practical problems or projects removed from intimate contact with and concern for utilizing either school or teacher as vehicles

of assimilation.

In the inter-war period as well, official Methodist and Presbyterian interest and involvement with the Ukrainians waned. In 1929 Alexander Jardine Hunter wrote the major work to emerge from Protestant missionary labors among the Ukrainians. Endorsed by the United Church of Canada as a study text and account of its missionary work in Western Canada, A Friendly Adventure was, narrowly speaking, the record of Hunter's own efforts and achievements during twenty-five years as a Presbyterian minister, doctor, and friend of the Ukrainians at Teulon, Manitoba, concerned with their spiritual, physical, and educational well-being. On a wider plane it was illustrative of the successful penetration of a Ukrainian community by a Canadian Protestant church largely through the overtures of a sympathetic representative.[28] More theoretically, A Friendly Adventure expounded Hunter's philosophy as to the objectives of the Presbyterian Church and its United Church successor in their endeavours among the Ukrainians. Contrary to the tenor of much of the related literature published by the Presbyterian Church, which interwove Candianization in the Anglo-Saxon mold with evangelical Christianization, Hunter's outlook was Christian before it was Canadian. In fact, at one point he specifically stated the error "of identifying our own national traits with essence of Christian faith."[29] Although writing from the viewpoint of the Presbyterian cleric, Hunter approached the Ukrainians primarily as an idealistic Christian and a man who sought to understand them historically, intellectually, and emotionally.

As a Protestant minister, Hunter devoted considerable space to the religious traditions and history of the Ukrainians, emphasizing, as did others of his training and inclination, the wrongful use of religion

as a political tool, the error in ritualistic forms of worship, and the view of the Greek Catholic Church as an authoritative dictatorial body. In his judgment and interpretation, however, Hunter revealed greater insight and understanding than did many of his contemporaries. Concerning the ritual of the Ukrainian service, Hunter commented:

> Seeing that ritual carried out in a little country church, one could realize what its grandeur might be in some great cathedral of the old world, with trained singers and thousands of worshippers. The Roman ritual pales before it and the Anglican becomes almost invisible. Such a ritual befits a mighty empire whose subjects are to be inspired, not to reason why, but only to do--and die.
>
> I do not love ritualism, yet if I were ever to become a ritualist I think I should prefer the Greek Church.[30]

Similarly, Hunter grasped the association between race and religious loyalty manifest among the Ukrainians and the significance to them of the Greek Catholic Church as a national institution. He explained this phenomenon to his Anglo-Canadian readers through an analogy illustrating the Anglican's national allegiance to the Church of England.[31] In both instances, loyalty to their church symbolized loyalty to their nation.

Hunter denied that it was the intention of his church to proselytize on behalf of Presbyterianism. It desired solely to help the Ukrainians become more intelligently Orthodox or Catholic. Nevertheless, he discussed in some detail the development and goals of the Independent Greek Church and the motives behind Presbyterian sponsorship. Some indication of the antagonism encountered by the Presbyterian Church and its Independent Greek protégé can be gleaned from Hunter's references to the work of Bolshevik propaganda, and, more importantly as it exerted a greater impact on the Ukrainians, of nationalist agitators who strove to denounce and vilify both the Presbyterian and Independent Greek churches as English assimilative organs. Hunter's

resentment of Ukrainian nationalist leaders who hindered his work at Teulon was thinly veiled. In turn, however, Hunter was able to justify the Ukrainian's resistance to assimilation on historical grounds:

> For centuries the Ukrainians have been struggling against assimilation by the Poles on the one side and the Russians on the other, so they were very easily aroused by such a cry....That word "assimilate" has a terrible significance to the Ukrainian patriot. He understands that the lion assimilates the lamb when he eats him and is resolved that his people shall not be assimilated in that way.[32]

Conversely, Hunter felt that the Ukrainian's seemingly ingrained loyalty to race and land would ultimately be transferred to Canada.

Hunter's refusal to equate Canadianization with the adoption of evangelical Christianity permitted him to approach the Ukrainians in terms of brotherhood and helpfulness, not doctrine, and from the standpoint of social Christianity--practice not theory--regardless of creed. This attitude also enabled him to evaluate the success of the Presbyterian mission work among the Ukrainians while recognizing the lack of converts:

> Here we need to clear our mind of possible confusion. Our aim is not primarily to strengthen our own particular denomination at the expense of other denominations. We wish, most of all, to bring about brotherly relations in a Christian spirit between the different races. We hold certain views about the Christian life and about the significance of the Christian religion that we wish our new friends to understand. If they are satisfied with our views and would like to work with us in our organization, we shall be very glad to have them with us, but we want them still to feel that we are comrades even though working under some other religious organization. To most of us, I think, religious organizations are merely implements for serving the religious life. The real Church is the invisible communion of kindred spirits.[33]

Hunter's reaction to the Ukrainians was universally Christian before it was either Presbyterian or Canadian. In addition, his knowledge and appreciation of the Ukrainian people, their history and literary tradition as well as his awareness of the inner organization and functioning of a Ukrainian community in Canada far exceeded that revealed in the

writings of his Anglo-Saxon contemporaries similarly entering a Ukrainian community as representatives of an Anglo-Canadian institution.

Hunter's academic and intellectual interest in Ukrainian history and literature was exceptional, but the second trend to emerge in English-language literature on the Ukrainians in Canada during the 1920's echoed this enthusiasm on a more popular level. The crystallizing concept of a "mosaic" as the nature of the Canadian national identity forced its proponents to examine both the psychological traits and cultural backgrounds of the various national groups in Canada. This not only indicated the diverse national historical experiences of the people now Canadian, experiences tempering their mental outlook and reactions, but also provided guidelines as to what facets of a group's heritage should be preserved and perpetuated in the new land as a contribution to the Canadian structure. It was no longer sufficfent that the non-Anglo-Saxon be directed toward an appreciation of British-Canadian ideals, laws, and institutions and a knowledge of the English language while excluding his own heritage from his daily life. Certain Canadians came to realize that these immigrants possessed spiritual and cultural treasures from a civilization far older than the Canadian and capable of enriching the life of the new nation. In 1922 one commentator observed the following regarding the gifts brought to Canada by the foreign immigrant:

> In the first place he has a stick-to-it-iveness, a persistency and an anxiety to do things well. Handicraft work we know nothing of and yet these people bring a complete knowledge of many handicrafts. Culture too they bring in the form of literature, folk music, and folk dances, all of which we are lacking in. A neighborliness and a desire to bear one another's burdens is characteristic of many of them. Thus we see that they have no small contribution to make to our national life.[34]

When applying the "mosaic" concept to specific nationalities in

Canada, Anglo-Canadians were restricted in their acquaintance with that group's heritage and traits from which to draw qualities and practices desirable for Canada by the segment of that nationality represented in its immigrants to Canada. With the Ukrainians, as with many other groups, the peasant class had comprised the bulk of their immigration and created the foundation of their life in Canada. Hence, it was the Ukrainian peasant culture, characterized by its attachment to the soil, traditions and ritual determined by the natural cycles of life and the changing seasons, colorful handicrafts, and folk songs, that the Anglo-Saxon encountered and considered as the Ukrainian contribution to the Canadian cultural "mosaic." The Ukrainian literary heritage was precluded by the language barrier and the national historical experience rendered insignificant by the lack of sovereignty.[35] The contemporary literature analyzing the Ukrainian component of the Canadian "mosaic" reflected the peasant orientation of the Ukrainians in Canada.

The term "mosaic" was introduced and defined in 1926 in a publication by Kate A. Foster entitled Our Canadian Mosaic. The purpose of Foster's study was twofold: "to make available in easily accessible form accurate information in regard to those who come from other lands to establish new homes for themselves in Canada, and to stimulate interest in a problem of prime importance to our national life."[36] In spite of its popularization of the "mosaic" concept, Our Canadian Mosaic was still vitally concerned with the assimilation of the non-Anglo-Saxon into Canadian life, devoting considerable space to a discussion of the activities and services of various Canadian national, educational, social, and religious bodies in their efforts to facilitate Canadianization. Foster's definition of assimilation, however, failed to

reiterate previous emphasis on Anglo-conformity:

> One hears much in these days about the impossibility of assimilating certain peoples into our national life--but have we TRIED?--And are we prepared to try? In many minds the term "assimilation" is confused with amalgamation. Does the former necessarily imply intermarriage--the fusion of races? Is not assimilation rather the incorporation into our national life of all people within our borders for their common well-being. Is it not the working together side by side for the common advancement, each race contributing something of value and so slowly but surely evolving a new people enriched by the diversity of its origin?[37]

This view of assimilation constituted the essence of Foster's definition of the Canadian Mosaic.

The Ukrainians, Foster contended, had preserved through centuries of national oppression their love of their music, dancing, and handicrafts and a devotion to the homeland that signified the potential for a similar loyalty to Canada. Her discussion of the Ukrainian element in Canada included a brief analysis of three factors in the integration of the Ukrainians into Canadian life. The public school and Canadian church and social organizations had been traditionally advocated by Anglo-Saxon exponents of assimilation. For the first time, however, Ukrainian organizations were referred to not as an unhealthy perpetuation of old loyalties but as a means for easing integration. In the 1930's Anglo-Saxon researchers into Ukrainian Canadian life were to expand on this aspect of their community and its role as an adjustment mechanism.

With the concept of "gifts" or "mosaic" came a quickened interest in the various cultures of the non-British in Canada. In 1928, in connection with this phenomenon, John Murray Gibbon as general publicity agent for the Canadian Pacific Railway organized a series of New Canadian folk song, folk dance and handicrafts festivals across Canada. These festivals were in the opinion of one observer, the first attempt

"to demonstrate to Canadians that these newcomers from Europe possessed characteristic spiritual qualities which might be made to enrich the national life"[38] and which hitherto had gone unnoticed. The foreign immigrants were not simply ignorant manual laborers but the heirs of song, dance, and handicraft skills that formed an integral part of their existence. Gibbon himself argued that the preservation and dissemination of the folk cultures, including Ukrainian, of the different nationalities in Canada would greatly augment a rather monotonous Canadian scene. His folkloristic studies culminated in the publication of Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Northern Nation, an elaboration of a series of CBC radio broadcasts in 1938 featuring the folk music of various national groups in Canada.

Gibbon contended that to understand the Canadian people one required a knowledge of their history, origins, and the European countries from whence they came. This was all the more imperative as no standardized Canadian type had yet emerged from the racial conglomerate resident in the country:

> The Canadian people today presents itself as a decorated surface, bright with inlays of separate colored pieces, not painted in colors blended with brush or palette. The original background in which the inlays are set is still visible but these inlays cover more space than that background, and so the ensemble may truly be called a mosaic.[39]

Gibbon was acutely conscious of a valuable ethnic and cultural "mosaic" in Canada, its individual segments cemented together by community interests, social organizations and the school. For each racial group discussed in Canadian Mosaic, he provided a sketch of their historical development, settlement in Canada, personal contributions by members of the group to Canadian life, and the general contribution of the group as determined by a stereotyped image. Gibbon quoted extensively

from diaries, newspapers, books, speeches and reports written by the immigrants themselves or their descendents and numerous authorities on a particular group or aspect of assimilation. He also attempted the inclusion of a passage by the present generation of each nationality to indicate its attitude toward Canada and vision of its role in her national development. The Ukrainians he described as a nation of poets, musicians, and artists whose representatives had proven to be a physical asset to Canada and were now anxious to acquaint Anglo-Saxon Canada with their folk art, culture, and history. Gibbon concluded his chapter "Ukraine and Canada" with the text of the address of welcome to Lord Tweedsmuir on the occasion of his visit to Fraserwood, Manitoba, in 1936 and the Governor-General's famed reply.

Although the preceding discussion would indicate the contrary, the Ukrainian Canadians in the inter-war years were not examined solely as one of many elements pertinent to the issues of assimilation or the "mosaic." An increasing number of works appeared more narrowly concerned with their development and more unilaterally significant to Ukrainian Canadian historiography.

FOOTNOTES

[1]For an indication of contemporary British and Canadian thought on a Canadian identity and its meaning, see Sir Robert Falconer, "What is Implied in the Word Canadian," English Review, Vol. XLI (October, 1925), pp. 595-604; and W. Burton Hurd, "Is There a Canadian Race?" Queen's Quarterly, Vol. XXXI (1928), pp. 615-627. Falconer emphasized the attachment to Great Britain and determination not to be absorbed by the United States as the two salient factors fostering Canadian unity. Hurd, on the other hand, examined the evolution of a Canadian nationality from the varied racial strains in the country in light of the psychological emergence of a Canadian nation following the war. He concluded that the melting pot had not yet yielded its product for no Canadian race existed. Although considerable racial and cultural fusion had already occurred, biological amalgamation would require more time.

[2]Miriam Elston, "Ruthenians in Western Canada. I. Public Schools," Onward (n.d.), n.p.

[3]Miriam Elston, "Our Own Slav Problem: Ukrainians in Canada," Graphic (August 9, 1919), n.p.

[4]F. Heap, "Ukrainians in Canada: An Estimate of the Presence, Ideals, Religion, Tendencies, and Citizenship of Perhaps Three Hundred Thousand Ukrainians in Canada," Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature, Vol. LIII (1919), p. 43.

[5]See in particular Colin G. Young, "Report for Board of Home Missions and Social Service for Year Ending 1919--Report on Non-British Mission Work in Northern Saskatchewan," Acts and Proceedings of the Forty-Sixth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (1920), pp. 33-41. Young summarized Ukrainian history from the founding of Kieven Rus' in the ninth century through devastation and oppression by eastern hordes and avaricious neighbors to, acknowledging the great recuperative powers and inner strength of the Ukrainian people and nation, hopes for the fate of the fledgling Ukrainian Republic. He also outlined Ukrainian immigration to Canada and progress materially and spiritually, especially recognizing the role of the Presbyterian Church and British Christian teachers.

[6]Colin G. Young, "Report for Board of Home Missions and Social Service for Year Ending 1918--Report on Non-British Mission Work in Northern Saskatchewan," Acts and Proceedings of the Forty-Fifth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (1919), p. 32.

[7]W. H. Sedgewick, Convener, "Report of Board of Home Missions and Social Service for Year 1923," Acts and Proceedings of the Fiftieth

General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (1924), p. 9.

[8]The Medical Director of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene adopted the stance that although Canada needed immigrants, those mentally defective only constituted a drain on the state and in no way contributed beneficially to Canadian development. Hence, a wiser immigration policy than that in force prior to 1918 was mandatory. See W. G. Smith, A Study in Canadian Immigration, with a Foreword by C. K. Clarke, Medical Director of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1920), pp. 8-15.

[9]Ibid., pp. 382-383.

[10]W. G. Smith, Building the Nation: The Churches' Relation to the Immigrant (Toronto: Ryerson Press for Canadian Congregational Missionary Society, Young People's Forward Movement of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Board of Home Missions and Social Service of the Presbyterian Church co-operating through the Canadian Council of the Missionary Education Movement, 1922), p. 109.

[11]Ibid., p. 111.

[12]John W. McAllister, "The Rural School as a Community Centre: A Discussion Dealing with the Problem of the Assimilation of New Canadians in Western Canada" (unpublished M.Sc. thesis, University of Alberta, 1925), p. 3.

[13]Peter H. Bryce, The Value to Canada of the Continental Immigrant (Ottawa, 1928), p. 13. This was probably an allusion to the remark by the Anglican bishop of Saskatchewan, George Exton Lloyd, that this class of immigrant were "dirty, ignorant, garlic-smelling, non-preferred continentals." Lloyd made his comment in a letter dated 29th June 1928 imploring the Protestant ministry of Western Canada to oppose continental immigration in large numbers. See Michael Luchkovich, A Ukrainian Canadian in Parliament: Memoirs of Michael Luchkovich, with a Foreword by Alexander Gregorovich (Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1965), pp. 61-62. Bryce elsewhere condemned the official Anglican stand against those people whose accomplishments he had just enumerated.

[14]Bryce, The Value to Canada of the Continental Immigrant, p. 44.

[15]Robert England, The Central European Immigrant in Canada, with a Foreword by Geo. M. Weir, Grand Master of the Masonic Grand Lodge of Saskatchewan (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, Limited, 1929), p. x.

[16]Ibid., p. 6. Italics his.

[17]Ibid., pp. 58-59.

[18]Ibid., p. 57.

[19]Ibid., p. 56.

[20]Ibid., p. 72.

[21]For example, England contended that there were no newspapers, no musical instruments, few books, and no organized meetings. That such was not the case has been aptly illustrated by Ukrainian Canadian historians researching developments in the inter-war years. For an indication of the quantity, variety and circulation of Ukrainian-language press publications in the inter-war period and the network of national and local organizations of multifarious orientations, see Michael H. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History, with a Foreword by V. J. Kaye (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970), pp. 470-498 and pp. 374-424 respectively.

[22]In actuality the Ukrainian peasant family had a definite matriarchal element, for the woman enjoyed undisputed responsibility for the home and garden while her husband controlled only the outside. Wife-beating would occur occasionally, primarily under the influence of liquor, but it was not an accepted practice. Finally, in an agricultural society, marriage was not exclusively a matter of choice for the young couple for the transfer of family property was also involved. A marriage agreement therefore required a consensus of opinion among the two sets of parents and the bride and groom. An agricultural society engrossed in subsistence farming also demanded the dedication of husband, wife, and children. The initial stage of Ukrainian rural life in Canada preserved this aspect of the traditional pattern.

[23]See England, The Central European Immigrant in Canada, pp. 89-95.

[24]Ibid., p. 134.

[25]Ibid., p. 165.

[26]Ibid., p. 175. At one point England did state that the problem of assimilation resolved itself into the question of how best to absorb the immigrant without losing the best in his heritage, but he nowhere indicated what he considered to be the "best" in a group's heritage and therefore desirable to be retained. He favored the standardization of thought, customs and responses from the use of a common language and common experiences in Canada, leaving few areas where the non-Anglo-Saxon could preserve facets of his European character and inheritance.

[27]Ibid., p. 211.

[28]It is indicative of the relative success of Protestant efforts among the Ukrainians, that Hunter could mention few Ukrainian converts to Presbyterianism, while the school home and hospital were ultimately favorably received.

[29]Alexander Jardine Hunter, A Friendly Adventure: The Story of the United Church Mission Among New Canadians at Teulon, Manitoba (Toronto: Committee on Literature, General Publicity and Missionary Education of the United Church of Canada for the Board of Home Missions of the United Church of Canada, 1929), p. 106.

[30]Ibid., p. 44.

[31]See Ibid., p. 54.

[32]Ibid., pp. 36 and 38.

[33]Ibid., pp. 102-103.

[34]George Elmore Reaman, "Canadianization of the Foreign-Born," Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature, Vol. LIX (October, 1922), p. 449.

[35]The latter part of this statement requires qualification for the Ukrainian national historical experience was viewed as contributory to developing certain traits in the Ukrainian character potentially valuable to Canada--a democratic tradition in Cossackdom and a devout patriotism to the Ukrainian nation nurtured through centuries of oppression that bore promise of a similar loyalty to Canada.

[36]Kate A. Foster, Our Canadian Mosaic, with a Foreword by James H. Coyne, President of the Royal Society of Canada (Toronto: Dominion Council Y.W.C.A., 1926), p. 7.

[37]Ibid., p. 135.

[38]E. L. Chicanot, "Moulding a Nation," Dalhousie Review, Vol. IX (1929), p. 233.

[39]Gibbon, Canadian Mosaic, p. viii.

Specific Studies and Research

The 1930's denoted a turning point in English-language Ukrainian Canadian historiography with the emergence of serious scholarship and research into Ukrainian Canadian development, both privately and within the university framework. Much of the literary activity in the decade immediately succeeding the Great War had been of an exploratory nature, defining more precisely who the Ukrainians were, assessing their material and social progress after thirty years residence in the new land, and examining their folk culture with growing appreciation. Although interest in these areas persisted in Anglo-Saxon writings touching superficially or briefly on the Ukrainians as one of many nationalities in Canada,[1] an increasing number of Anglo-Canadians came to recognize the Ukrainian Canadians as a viable, legitimate, and significant collectivity whose development and history bore careful scrutiny from several perspectives. The Ukrainians were no longer important simply as they affected the course of Canadian national progress but were also considered in terms of their own organization and community life indicative of a self-contained and self-perpetuating society crystallizing adjacent to yet part of the larger Canadian scene.

In 1931 the first monograph on the Ukrainians was published. The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation by Charles H. Young was to constitute the sole general account of Ukrainian Canadian history to be undertaken by an Anglo-Saxon, and in spite of its topical nature and limited perspective imposed by the date of writing, it remains one of

the most important contributions to Ukrainian Canadian historiography. Its insight into the question of assimilation from the Ukrainian point of view and examination of Ukrainian Canadian society as a distinct and identifiable entity denoted a new direction in the study of the Ukrainians in Canada. Young's study was sponsored by the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene which maintained that Canadian growth and prosperity required citizens healthy in mind as well as in body. Such racial studies as The Ukrainian Canadians enabled one to determine the source of dangerous tendencies and measures to facilitate the mental adjustment of individual immigrant and immigrant group, thus circumventing social disorganization.[2] The Ukrainians were selected for observation as to adjustment and assimilation because of their wide disperson in Canada and because their period of residence permitted the examination of the effects of changed customs and environment on two or three generations.

To Young the Ukrainian Canadians were to be studied not in isolation, divorced from their historical origins, but as offshoots of Ukrainian parent groups. Unlike earlier Anglo-Saxon writers, who had largely ignored or belittled the consolidating Ukrainian Canadian society and studied the Ukrainians apart from their organized community life, with the occasional exception of the religious facet, he recognized this society as the central factor influencing Ukrainian Canadian adjustment and the transition between two worlds. Young presented his material in terms of this transitional process, beginning with a concise and accurate review of Ukrainian history,[3] followed by a discussion of Ukrainian immigration to Canada, rural and urban settlement, agricultural and industrial development, and factors determining material

success or failure. Turning to the less tangible, he first examined Ukrainian Canadian society as a self-contained unit and distinct cultural entity, then considered forces extraneous to that society--government, education, and health--all aggressively assimilative and prone to foster social disorganization among the group. A final chapter weighed the Ukrainians as prospective Canadian citizens. Young's approach through Ukrainian Canadian society was undoubtedly not determined solely by his own insight into its significance. The increased vocality and organization of that society in the inter-war period and the growing pressure that it exerted on the Canadian scene on behalf of Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian interests ensured that future researchers into Ukrainian Canadian development could not disregard it.

Those chapters of The Ukrainian Canadians examining immigration, settlement, distribution and expansion, rural areas and agricultural development, and urban areas and industrial development covered aspects of Ukrainian Canadian life probed superficially by Young's predecessors. His treatment of the subject was substantially more comprehensive, analytical, and objective; and his findings and conclusions formed the basis of future literature on these facets of Ukrainian Canadian history for several years. In rural areas Young corroborated Woodsworth's findings of 1917 that economic and social progress was commensurate with the nature of the land settled, the Ukrainians making good on good land and showing less headway on poor land, especially in certain districts of Manitoba. The outstanding feature of Ukrainian agricultural progress was that it had been achieved with minimal financial assistance, guidance, or instruction from Canadian government or private bodies. While earlier writers on Ukrainian urban life had emphasized

the first area of Ukrainian concentration in the inner core slums, their attendant overcrowding, social upheaval, and deterioration, Young, in his examination of the Winnipeg, Montreal, and Toronto Ukrainian communities, also noted a second area of settlement beyond the original location. He viewed urban life not only from the standpoint of economic integration and development of both permanent and mobile Ukrainian Canadians but also in terms of Ukrainian Canadian society. Toronto and Montreal lay on the peripheries of this society but Winnipeg was the organizing and institutional metropolis of the Ukrainian Canadian world.

In both urban and rural Ukrainian settlements, Young confronted the question of the ethnic bloc as a factor in assimilation. Although retarding assimilation in rural districts, it was a valuable factor in an urban environment where it served to forestall too rapid assimilation and subsequent social dislocation. Even the rural blocs were justified in that by providing a sense of community and social cohesion to offset material discomfort they had permitted the cultivation of marginal lands that would have otherwise lain vacant.

Young's examination of the various forces operating, interacting, and conflicting within Ukrainian Canadian society was a new departure in Ukrainian Canadian historiography for it attempted to explain attitudes, movements, and structure not through Canadian stimuli so much as through European motivations and determinants. He concentrated on the religious and nationalistic affiliations and outlooks of the Ukrainian people in Canada, noting that identification with one or another of these groups comprised their major social contacts. While religious bodies formed the nuclei of Ukrainian groups developing in Canada, their programs had expanded from a purely religious appeal to

embrace political, social, and cultural objectives as well. In many sectors of Ukrainian Canadian society, nationalism was superseding old gods. As products of the Ukrainian religious and nationalist groups, self-help and self-expression institutions emerged, eventually generating new attitudes and customs appropriate to Canadian life and furnishing a means of social control in the new land.

Young discerned two parallel tendencies operating in Ukrainian Canadian society. On the one hand, the formally organized groups and their offspring institutions actively responded to political developments in the homeland, resulting in a pronounced nationalistic bias in their thinking and orientation. Without the agitation and propaganda conducted by the Ukrainian intelligentsia in Canada, Young doubted whether the latent nationalism among the Ukrainian immigrants would have erupted with the force that it had subsequently revealed, but he refused to view its manifestation negatively. Any drawback it posed for Canada through its perpetuation of European feuds and issues was counterbalanced by its role in giving birth to institutions useful as cohesive and unifying agents instrumental in alleviating social disorganization among the Ukrainian immigrants. On the other hand, the major groups and their institutions were gradually assuming Canadian overtones and becoming increasingly concerned with easing the adjustment and integration of the Ukrainian people into Canadian life. Although the foundation of Ukrainian Canadian society retained its Ukrainian roots, the superstructure would grow more Canadian. Behind Young's support of Ukrainian groups and institutions alien to Canadian society was the belief that Anglo-Canada could approach the Ukrainian immigrants fruitfully only through co-operation with their own

institutions. Of merely secondary significance in their adaptation to Canadian life were the influences of non-indigeneous institutions--government, educational and medical--penetrating the Ukrainian Canadian community.

Young corroborated the declarations of his colleagues in the field that the best agent of assimilation was the public school. Although favoring the policy developed in Alberta, which had circumvented Ukrainian teacher and bilingual problems, he opposed neither the teaching of Ukrainian after hours, as it helped to maintain a normal balance between Ukrainian parent and child, nor the qualified Ukrainian teacher, arguing that given the qualifications demanded of every instructor, "the ideal teacher is one of the religion and race of the district."[4] The Ukrainians were no longer hostile to educational efforts by Canadian bodies, for their own leaders, concerned with the status of their group in Canada, were encouraging higher education. The growing number of Ukrainians in institutions of higher learning bore testimony to their educational progress. Young concluded his examination of the education of the Ukrainian Canadians on this note:

> Our attempt in this chapter has been to indicate trends and to evaluate the progress these people have made in the light of the circumstances under which they have lived. No picture of the situation is just or accurate which overlooks their handicaps or fails to note their great promise; with both of these in mind it must be admitted that they have done remarkably well.[5]

The Ukrainian Canadians appeared only two years after the publication of The Central European Immigrant in Canada yet Young's attitude and assessment of educational developments among the Ukrainians were markedly more sophisticated than those of Robert England.

While admitting that an examination of the health of immigrants included consideration of the physical and psychological effects of

altered environment, Young did find the health situation in the Ukrainian colonies unsatisfactory. Inadequate medical services in rural areas, fatalistic acceptance of sickness, suffering and death, and the adherence to firmly-rooted traditions and superstitions in the healing of the sick were all conducive to poor health. Enlistment of the co-operation of the Ukrainian leaders, concerned with elevating the status of their group, in furthering the health education of the Ukrainians would be of great benefit. In their relations with the third non-Ukrainian institution, the government, Young examined their naturalization and political education as well as their movement into active participation in the political life of Canada through the administration of schools and involvement in municipal government. In spite of having arrived in Canada unprepared for participation in its more democratic system of government, the Ukrainians were acquiring sufficient knowledge of and interest in Canadian politics and their operation. Their willingness to co-operate with other Canadians in building the nation was welcome as their sheer numbers and concentration equipped the Ukrainians with a potentially influential political force.

Lastly, as illustrative of the degree of their assimilation, Young measured social disorganization among the Ukrainians largely through an examination of the prevalence of different types of crime. He noted the universality of assault, petty thievery, destruction of property, and lying but the relative scarcity of serious offences, lawlessness, and sex crimes.[6] He also discussed such factors conducive to an undue proportion of crime among the Ukrainian immigrants and their children as an excessive number of males, ignorance of language, customs and laws, conflicts among their own factional groups, a magnified generation

gap creating great familial pressures, and the inconsistent and lax enforcement of the law. Temporary social disorganization and excessive criminality were the inevitable price to pay for the assimilation of non-Anglo-Saxon immigrant groups originating in a completely foreign cultural milieu. Simultaneously, however, Canadian organizations "longing for the chance to prove the quality of their citizenship" should deem it their national duty to implement programs designed to mitigate the social disorganization and stress accompanying assimilation. Young concluded:

> With this we draw to a close. While admitting the relatively high crime rate of the Ukrainians, our attempt in this chapter has been to show that such an excess of crime is to be expected in any immigrant group, and that it is even more to be expected among the Ukrainians, not through any innate racial propensity for crime but because of all the factors in the Ukrainian history, tradition and settlement in Canada which make for such social disorganization.[7]

Unlike his Anglo-Saxon predecessors concerned with the proclivity for crime manifested by the Ukrainians in Canada, Young attempted to explain much of the phenomenon through differences in Anglo-Canadian and Ukrainian attitudes, customs, and backgrounds.

In a final summary chapter Young evaluated the suitability and desirability of the Ukrainians as immigrants and prospective citizens and stated his own recommendations for their future immigration, colonization, and land settlement. From his research and the data presented in the preceding pages of The Ukrainian Canadians, he delivered his verdict:

> We close in this strain. The relative isolation of this group, as of most immigrant groups, owing to differences in culture, makes it difficult if not impossible for us to render them any but the most meagre of direct services. These at best should be of a sort to facilitate the work of the organizations germane to Ukrainian-Canadian society. The burden of their continuous development is one we can rarely share. Immigrant groups must, to a very great extent, work out their own salvation. And this we may rest assured

> the Ukrainians will do. No one can have intercourse with these more recent pioneers of our country, still more--know by personal experience their heroic efforts to meet the exacting tests of homesteading in the bush country on the North-west, without acquiring a feeling of confidence in their ability to measure up ultimately to the finest ideals of Canadian citizenship.[8]

In conducting his research for The Ukrainian Canadians, Young utilized diversified and extensive resources--available statistics on different facets of Ukrainian Canadian development, questionnaires distributed to hundreds of Ukrainians across Canada, a comparable program of interviews with Ukrainians from various backgrounds, and consultations with government officials, teachers, medical personnel, police officers, and others involved with the Ukrainian people in Canada. With limited published material on the Ukrainian Canadians on which to rely for authoritative information, this groundwork was essential for a meaningful study. In a balanced and relatively impartial examination of Ukrainian Canadian life, attitudes, assimilation, and the indigeneous and alien forces at work within Ukrainian Canadian society, Young displayed neither the prevailing Anglo-Saxon prejudices nor the predilection for one or another of the numerous Ukrainian groups revealed by the majority of later Ukrainian writers. Their interpretations of Ukrainian Canadian history were frequently to a greater or lesser degree examples of the very partisanship and factionalism in the Ukrainian community noted by Young.

Young's study was not only intended to depict the background, development and progress of the Ukrainians in Canada. It appeared also as a handbook for Canadian institutions and native-born Canadians on the preferable course for intelligent assimilation of the Ukrainian immigrants and their children. Young's own insight into immigrant psychology, adjustment, and assimilation from the point of view of the

immigrant was remarkably enlightened in comparison with his predecessors writing on the Ukrainian Canadians. He examined the Ukrainians in Canada not in isolation or primarily by Anglo-Canadian standards, although they inevitably figured importantly when measuring assimilation, but as offshoots of Ukrainian society and movements in Europe and continuing to be influenced by upheavals and events in that sector of the world. He viewed immigration as a sociological phenomenon and interpreted the Ukrainian experience in Canada within that framework. This approach furnishes The Ukrainian Canadians, regardless of its now topical nature and restricted perspective, with a unique value in Ukrainian Canadian historiography, for with few exceptions Ukrainian Canadian historians have not examined early Ukrainian Canadian development in terms of an analysis of the transition from old world to new world patterns of behaviour, attitudes, and institutions. Young's orientation was much more influenced by the universality of certain phenomena among all immigrant groups than have been those of Ukrainian Canadian writers, who frequently appear confined intellectually to their own ethnic group.

The impact of The Ukrainian Canadians on literature pertaining to Ukrainian immigration, settlement, and development was immediately discernible. In 1936 Robert England published a second study, The Colonization of Western Canada, in which he examined the assimilation and contribution of the many European peoples inhabiting the prairie provinces in conjunction with growth and agricultural development in the area of their settlement. As a response to the economic depression in Western Canada in the 1930's, the book also viewed the ethnic communities within that context. Following a discussion of several communities and their actual and possible contribution to building Western Canada,

England concluded that not only were these people fulfilling a significant economic role but also that "it is to be hoped that in exploiting natural resources and in economic development some of the mother-wit, poetry, family affection, piety and wholesomeness of people bred to the soil will continue to enrich the life of the West."[9] As the organizer of the Community Progress Competitions for Continental Europeans, England also devoted considerable space to the purpose, organization, operation, and success of the project as a promotion of community and national consciousness and means for both preserving traditional handicraft skills and making the Continental European more aware of available provincial health, agricultural, and educational institutions and services.

In opening his discussion of the Ukrainian element in Western Canada England admitted that they had been the most misunderstood racial group, but that recent studies outlining their history and background had helped to ameliorate the situation.[10] His subsequent heavy reliance on Young to indicate developments and progress in the Ukrainian bloc settlements as well as factors in Ukrainian history bore testimony to the great significance of The Ukrainian Canadians both as a source of information and a force in molding attitudes more sympathetic to the Ukrainians.[11] England stressed the marked improvements, social, cultural, and educational as well as economic, noticeable in the Ukrainian communities in the last decade. It is interesting to note, however, that while in The Central European Immigrant in Canada he had stressed the role of the school as a community centre, he now mentioned the popularity of social activities and gatherings of young people at community halls, perhaps an unconscious recognition of the success of the indigeneous over the alien institution. England

concluded his survey of the Ukrainian Canadians thus:

> There still remain some gaps in understanding as between the Ukrainian and Anglo-Saxon peoples. There has been a lack at times of neighborliness and a tendency to segregation of groups with consequent misunderstanding and a tendency to see one another in the blackest colors. There is a great deal of prejudice yet to be overcome and the work of reconciliation will be handicapped by the black sheep on each side. There is a form of myopia which attacks us when we can see our interests threatened by unusual modes of living or unaccustomed idioms or ways of thought, which at a distance would seem unattractive. The wider vision is ever the truer vision but detachment is not easy to achieve. We now know enough to realize the qualities which the best of the Ukrainian people have brought to Canada, and it is certain that when the history of Western Canada widens out in the coming decades there will be a high place on the scroll for the achievements of the Ukrainian people.[12]

Following Young's general account of Ukrainian Canadian development, individuals in Canadian universities began to investigate specific issues or narrowly defined areas within the larger sphere of Ukrainian Canadian life. However, before proceeding to those theses more contributory to Ukrainian Canadian historiography, it is appropriate to briefly summarize those works representing the culmination of Anglo-Saxon research into the education of the Ukrainians in Canada.

As students of education became interested in the Ukrainians, their first ventures were highly utilitarian in function and unimaginative. In 1934 Claude Hill Robinson submitted "A Study of the Written Language Errors of 1238 Pupils of Ukrainian Origin" to the University of Alberta as his B.Ed. thesis, proposing to ascertain the most frequently recurring types of error and hence provide teachers of Ukrainian pupils with an indication of those points of construction to emphasize. Robinson's study was notably amateurish and based on no stated or tested standards. "A Study to Discover any Characteristic Differences in Sentence Structure in the Written English of Saskatchewan Elementary School Pupils Belonging to Different National Groups" was presented to the University

of Saskatchewan in 1944 by Lorne Hedley Woollatt. It examined the types, frequency, and origin of errors in English sentence structure of pupils of English, German, Ukrainian, and French backgrounds. Woollatt found that different national groups made characteristic errors, suggesting the adoption of separate approaches in teaching them the English language. Unlike Robinson earlier, he included a bibliography of related studies and pertinent literature and clearly defined his methods of classification, techniques for analyzing the data collected, and justification for accepting his results as reliable and valid. To conclude the literature concerned with teaching English to pupils of Ukrainian origin, a post-World War II thesis may be logically mentioned here rather than in isolation in the next chapter. In 1946 David M. Sullivan wrote "An Investigation of the English Disabilities of Ukrainian and Polish Students in Grades IX, X, XI, XII of Alberta" as his M.Ed. thesis. Gaining access to Alberta Department of Education files, he analyzed Grades IX and XII English examinations written by Ukrainian students in twenty-four selected schools as well as completed provincial Vocabulary, Comprehension and Rate Tests for Grades X and XI. Of the three topically-related theses, Sullivan's was the most professional and mature study, acquiring its data and drawing its conclusions from undoubtedly the most uniform set of standards and types of material.

A thesis presented to the University of Toronto in 1941 by Jessie M. Deverell, "The Ukrainian Teacher as an Agent of Cultural Assimilation," investigated the extent to which and ways in which the growing numbers of Ukrainian teachers were influencing the speed and smoothness of the assimilation of Alberta Ukrainians. Deverell evidently interviewed both Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian teachers to obtain their views.

On the assumption that the Ukrainian teacher was better assimilated than his fellow Ukrainians, she maintained that he was capable of acting as an agent of assimilation in Ukrainian communities. However, her interviewing also prompted her to conclude that only a small minority of Ukrainian teachers consciously chose that profession to assist in the assimilation of their people. After outlining the merits and demerits of the Ukrainian teachers as agents of cultural assimilation, she closed on a positive note:

> A general summation of the results of this study would indicate that the Ukrainian teachers have had both accelerating and retarding influences on the speed with which the assimilation of their group has proceeded, but that they have definitely reduced the amount of friction attendant on the process. There seems to be little doubt that, in the natural process of time, the deterrent effects of their work will disappear, and that they will increasingly facilitate the complete fusion of the two cultures.[13]

A more substantive study to examine the education of the Ukrainian Canadians, "Education in the Bloc Settlements of Western Canada," was submitted by Leonard Bercuson to McGill University in 1941. Concerned with the assimilation of the foreign population of Western Canada and the role of educational institutions--past, present, and potential--in easing the transition from one world to another, it echoed an oft-repeated refrain in Anglo-Saxon literature on the Ukrainians in Canada:

> The significance of the school and the teacher in the foreign colony cannot be overestimated. There is little doubt that education may well be the deciding factor in the crucial question of national unity. Western Canada requires schools and teachers of the finest type to take the lead in promoting the development of a national consciousness made up of the best elements in the diverse cultures which have been planted in our Dominion.[14]

Although Bercuson included all ethnic blocs in Western Canada in his discussion, he claimed intimacy only with the Ukrainian bloc at Vegreville. Employed as a teacher at Smoky Lake for four years, he travelled extensively in the summer months, interviewing both Ukrainians and

non-Ukrainians throughout the bloc. Those assimilative forces he saw operating in the Ukrainian colony he proposed would also be at work among other nationalities. In all identifiable ethnic communities in Western Canada, while rates might vary, assimilation would eventually triumph. Bercuson consulted Young's The Ukrainian Canadians for general information on Ukrainian history, immigration, colonization, and organization. He maintained that in spite of their rural blocs, which had forestalled excessive social disorganization, thorough Canadianization of the Ukrainians would be achieved within another generation.

The second section of Bercuson's thesis involved the psychology of assimilation, the teaching of bilingual children, and the role of education and the school in a community from the Canadian perspective and experience but also taking into account different theories, experiments, and points of view on the part of educationalists throughout Western civilization. Although related to the concrete situation in Western Canada, Bercuson's thesis was considerably more theoretical and broadly based than were associated studies on the education of the Ukrainian Canadians.

More permanently relevant to the history of the Ukrainians in Canada were three theses which examined isolated segments of Ukrainian Canadian society. Two focused on the Ukrainian community in Montreal, while the third studied the extensive Ukrainian bloc in northeastern Alberta. They approached their subjects with the conviction that in each instance an identifiable Ukrainian Canadian society existed and functioned in its own purposive manner. Any examination of the assimilation or adaptation to Canada of the Ukrainians in these areas necessarily had to be conducted through recognition and analysis of this force.

In 1934 Stephen W. Mamchur submitted, as his M.A. thesis, "The Economic and Social Adjustment of Slavic Immigrants in Canada: With Special Reference to the Ukrainians in Montreal" to McGill University. Woodsworth in 1917, Anderson, Smith, England, and Young had concentrated on the rural Ukrainian, and Mamchur felt the time ripe for similar treatment, but more sociological in emphasis, of the urban Ukrainian. As the amount of participation by an immigrant in Canadian life was determined by his spatial and occupational segregation, an analysis of the type and degree of segregation as well as of the successive stages in regional and occupational distribution was imperative in measuring the adjustment of that immigrant group. Mamchur tested this statement through a case study of the Ukrainians in Montreal, selected as typical of the urban Slavic immigrant in their peasant origins and process of occupational and social adjustment. Being of Ukrainian origin himself, Mamchur was able to obtain personal entry into the Ukrainian immigrant world in Montreal and interviewed eleven percent of the resident Ukrainian families, stressing employment, income, and expenditures. Mamchur was the first Ukrainian Canadian to produce an English-language study on a particular facet of Ukrainian Canadian development. He was joined by other representatives during the years of the Second World War.

The second thesis to examine the Ukrainian community in Montreal was "The Social Structure of the Italian and Ukrainian Immigrant Communities in Montreal, 1935-1937." Written in 1939 by Charles M. Bayley, also at McGill University, it focused more on the Italians than it did on the Ukrainians but drew in both instances on extensive and intensive personal research--a total of twenty-two months visiting all classes of homes, organizations, festivals, weddings, funerals and church services

to gain as intimate and composite a picture as possible of each immigrant community. Bayley described the residential settlements, including patterns and successive stages, of the Italians and the Ukrainians; their family life, trends, and changing roles; neighborhood and institutional--mutual aid, religious, and national-political--life, the core of the social structure of the respective communities; and their entertainment patterns. He stated:

> The outstanding result of the study has been an indication of how immigrants who came to Montreal in haphazard fashion without aforeconsidered planning or guidance, have moved in toward each other and adjusted as groups; of how they have developed a social life which is amazingly and highly satisfying; of how they find a place in relation to Canadian society and will continue to hold this station for some time. These facts cannot be overlooked in a consideration of the consequences of immigration.[15]

In both the Ukrainian and Italian communities, although the Ukrainian was yet revealing greater staying power, adjustments in the social structure would inevitably occur in spite of the strength of the Italian and Ukrainian corporate life. Any new immigration, however, would re-establish and revitalize the immigrant institutions and society now being dissolved and aid the perpetuation of alien languages, customs, and traditions. Bayley wrote prior to World War II in whose aftermath large numbers of Ukrainian displaced persons arrived to augment and fortify Montreal's Ukrainian Canadian community.

The third thesis was more historical than those by Mamchur and Bayley. "The Ukrainian Community in North Central Alberta" by Timothy C. Byrne was presented to the University of Alberta in 1937. Motivated by a fervent conviction of the necessity to assimilate the Ukrainians, particularly in light of the vigour of the Ukrainian nationalist movement in Canada, Byrne emphasized both the problem and urgency of assimilation through stressing non-Canadian forces operating in Ukrainian

Canadian society.

Following a procedure almost universal among those who wrote on the history of the Ukrainian Canadians, Byrne began with a sketch of Ukrainian historical development. Merely a skeleton, it contained no great factual errors.[16] He then surveyed the Ukrainian community in north central Alberta, first examining its geographical limits, settlement, poorer and better districts, division of centres and areas according to province--Galicia or Bukovina--of origin, agricultural development, physical expansion until its cessation with the depression, and urban centres. The core of his paper focused on the religious and secular divisions of Ukrainian society within this colony, and again Byrne attempted to establish a relationship between the province and village of origin of the Ukrainians in different districts of Alberta, the dominant religious influences in these districts, and the popularity of different Ukrainian nationalist organizations. The source of Byrne's information lay in a summer's travels in the bloc, during which time he interviewed 150 Ukrainians regarding their financial status, political affiliations, history, and views on nationalism, assimilation, education, and marriage. When one considers that Byrne contacted only 150 out of the total 50,000 Ukrainians he claimed resided in the bloc, his methods and criteria for determining wealth, the numbers and proportions of Russian Orthodox, Ukrainian Orthodox, and Greek Catholics in various districts and the popularity of the representative nationalist groups in different sections of the bloc remain unknown.

The central portion of "The Ukrainian Community in North Central Alberta" sought to "indicate the ferment of ideas in a remote colony caused by the major dissensions among Ukrainians in Europe."[17] It is

valuable as a description of the influence of rising Ukrainian nationalism in its many forms among the Ukrainians in Canada from World War I into the 1930's as viewed from the Anglo-Saxon perspective. Byrne's attitude toward Ukrainian nationalism was less analytical than subjective and he maintained that in spite of the nationalists' contributions to Canada--and there were some--the realization of their aims would be disasterous for Canadian society, which above all required national unity and a national viewpoint. He stated:

> There is nothing more dangerous, nothing more detrimental to national progress than the spirit of "Little Ukrainianism." The eventual and complete fusion of the Ukrainian people with the other stocks that have settled in Western Canada is a social and political necessity.[18]

The Ukrainian bloc and nationalist movement had only served as an obstacle to assimilation.[19] It would have been highly preferable had nationalist propaganda not stirred Ukrainian Canadian society and the Ukrainians had been naturally and quietly assimilated through time. Simultaneously, Byrne doubted that the national movement would enjoy permanent success in Canada as the majority of Ukrainian Canadians were indifferent.

For the present the Ukrainian religious and secular organizations were doing little to promote the assimilation of their people.[20] While the two Ukrainian churches were less influential than formerly due to the secularization of North American society, they were still averse to assimilation and deliberately fostered Ukrainian nationalism. Turning to the secular organization of Ukrainian Canadian society, Byrne discussed three major nationalist groups--the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, the National Union,[21] and the United Hetman Organization--their philosophies, orientations, aims and objectives. He himself

favored the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, Canadian in origin and lacking European connections, over the two other societies which he considered as being too foreign to Canada to command the Ukrainian Canadians. All three were dedicated to an independent Ukraine and although all three equally professed loyalty to Canada, only the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League was concerned with the adaptation of the Ukrainian people to Canada, anxious to raise their cultural standards as a prelude to assimilation. Byrne concluded his study on an optimistic, if somewhat patronizing, note:

> Ukrainians have proved themselves on the farm and in the classroom. They have passed through a trying period of initiation and have achieved the status of citizenship. They should be treated as fellow citizens. It is true that there are aberrations within Ukrainian society that are unhealthy to Canadian interests. But these aberrations are not so serious that they cannot be corrected by a helping hand and a square deal. Tolerance is a crying need in the treatment of our Ukrainian Canadians.[22]

While Mamchur's thesis in 1934 had inaugurated the English-language study of the Ukrainians in Canada by the Ukrainians themselves, their first publications appeared only during the years of World War II. The two most enduring works were Canadian Cossacks by William Paluk and Canadians of Ukrainian Origin: Population by Nicholas J. Hunchak. A collection of essays, articles and short stories on Ukrainian Canadian life, Canadian Cossacks was published in 1943, much of it having been printed previously in the Canadian Ukrainian Review, the Ukrainian war veterans' magazine of which Paluk was a contributing editor. Simply written, Paluk's material was not directed toward a learned or cultured audience but intended for popular consumption. Canadian Cossacks contained considerable information on Ukrainian background, development, and characteristics--hinting of the nostalgic and the romantic--as well as Ukrainian life in Canada, but highly impressionistic and shallow,

it performed no great service to the advancement of the study of the Ukrainian Canadians.

More significant historically was the second book, Hunchak's Canadians of Ukrainian Origin: Population. It was intended as the introductory volume in a series of statistical studies on the Ukrainians in Canada published by the newly-formed Ukrainian Canadian Committee, but unfortunately further issues failed to materialize. Utilizing the Dominion Bureau of Statistics census returns for 1941, Canadians of Ukrainian Origin: Population was strictly an amassing of population figures for Ukrainian Canadians for Canada as a whole and by province according to several classified areas: numerical importance, religious denominations, occupations, birthplace, immigration, citizenship, official language and mother tongue, conjugal condition, age and education. It also indicated the numbers of Ukrainians in those municipalities, cities, towns, and villages in which they resided, and included parallel figures for those of Austrian, Polish, Romanian, and Russian origin on the assumption that they erroneously contained some of Ukrainian nationality. Canadians of Ukrainian Origin: Population was primarily a source book useful to those willing to interpret the statistical data compiled by Hunchak. He himself volunteered no interpretation of or conclusions from the figures he presented.

In contrast to the situation in World War I, when, although classified as enemy aliens, the Ukrainians received relatively little attention in contempoary literature, the years of World War II witnessed the publication of a considerable amount of material pertaining to them and the war. Anglo-Canadians from various motives attempted to illustrate the loyalty of the Ukrainian Canadians to the Allied war effort

and Canadian nation. Those concerned with Canadian national unity, both as it affected her performance in the current conflict and a program for post-war national reconstruction, discussed the different national groups in Canada within this context. In a sense, these combined writings marked a peak in Anglo-Canadian literary interest in the development of the Ukrainians and their role in the creation of a Canadian identity. Examination of the Ukrainian Canadians by non-Ukrainians would continue on a drastically reduced scale but in the decades following 1945 the balance swung to the Ukrainian Canadians themselves. A third category of literature directly bearing on the Ukrainian Canadians and the war reflected the transition as it expressed Ukrainian Canadian protestations of their support for the Allied cause.

The most prolific Anglo-Saxon exponent of Ukrainian Canadian loyalty was Watson Kirkconnell, noted linguist, scholar, and patron of the Ukrainians.[23] In his World War II writings, he examined the Ukrainian Canadians, as well as other ethnic groups, in their attitudes toward Canada, her Allies, and the Axis Powers. Kirkconnell's first publication, Canada, Europe, and Hitler, in 1939 sought to clarify the national and international issues facing Canada in the wake of the menace of Hitler and Nazism through an analysis of European-Canadian opinions regarding Hitler's policies. These he obtained from an extensive examination of the views expressed in their vernacular press in 1939, especially prior to the outbreak of hostilities,[24] and in light of developments in their mother countries in Central and Eastern Europe. His task was complicated by the fact that with many of the national groups there was no one front but several warring factions. The most politically self-conscious of Canada's minorities, the Ukrainian

Canadians were split not only into antagonistic nationalist and communist camps but also into hostile nationalist factions. Through scrutiny of their representative newspapers, Kirkconnell analyzed in turn their attitudes toward Nazi Germany, reactions to the erection of a Ukrainian state in Trans-Carpathia, and opinions on the Allied associations with Poland and Russia. From his observation that each national group recognized the threat to world security in Nazism, Kirkconnell concluded that resistance to its expansion would provide a common purpose and unity to all Canadians.[25]

Kirkconnell wrote two pamphlets exclusively pertaining to the Ukrainian Canadians and their attitude toward the war. The first, entitled The Ukrainian Canadians and the War and published in 1940, emphasized Ukrainian loyalty to Canada in her struggle overseas. Kirkconnell summarized his purpose as follows:

> This was an attempt to set forth the war aims of Canada and Britain in terms which would appeal to the loyalties of the Ukrainian Canadians both as Ukrainians and as Canadians, and would encourage them to sink their differences in a common Canadian war effort. Incidentally, I again stressed the idea that a Ukrainian sovereign state in Europe might well be an anachronism hopelessly late for a time when large European federations were needed for the peace and welfare of the continent.[26]

The second pamphlet, Our Ukrainian Loyalists: The Ukrainian Canadian Committee, was originally an address delivered to the First All-Canadian Congress of Ukrainians in Canada in 1943. It was a defence of the loyalist non-communist Ukrainians in Canada, particularly as represented by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, against slanderous attacks by the ostracized communist sector of the community.[27] Kirkconnell outlined the steps in the formation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, including his own participation in an attempt to vindicate himself from charges perpetrated against him, and its aims and objectives. He also

discussed the Ukrainian Canadian inter-war political organizations and alignments and present war record. He was highly critical of the Communist Ukrainian Labor-Farmer Temple Association and its "anti-Canadian" political education.

Much of Kirkconnell's energy in Our Ukrainian Loyalists was expended toward refuting charges against his own purposes in associating with the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and the character and pursuits of that body made in 1943 by Raymond Arthur Davies in a publication entitled This is Our Land: Ukrainian Canadians Against Hitler. Written from the Ukrainian Communist point of view, it was a popular, propagandistic book designed to exonerate the outlawed Ukrainian Labor-Farmer Temple Association, anti-fascist and staunch exponent of Canada's Soviet ally, and to illustrate the loyalty of its adherents to the Canadian war effort.[28] Davies simultaneously endeavoured to expose the non-communist Ukrainian organizations, particularly the monarchist United Hetman Organization and fascist Ukrainian National Federation, both traditionally anti-Soviet, as the true villains in the Ukrainian Canadian community.[29] He emphasized the great error of the Canadian government in supporting these nationalist groups over the suppressed and ill-treated ULFTA. In his attempt to provide evidence of the visible support of ULFTA and its members to Canada and the Allied cause, Davies ignored the years when the Soviet-German pact ensured its hostility and began his discussion with the German invasion of the Soviet Union. Davies also provided a condensed resume of Ukrainian Canadian history in which his communist bias generated an erroneous impression of the relative significance of the different political organizations in Ukrainian Canadian society and the political orientation of the majority

of Ukrainian Canadians. This section implied that the great mass of Ukrainian Canadians, represented by ULFTA until its suppression, was sympathetic to the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, while two minor and disruptive forces in the Ukrainian Canadian community were the Ukrainian National Federation and United Hetman Organization.

In that literature concerned primarily with Canadian unity during both the war years and the reconstruction period, the Ukrainians were discussed largely as only one of many national groups within Canada's borders.[30] Watson Kirkconnell wrote a pamphlet in 1941 under the authority of the Minister of National War Services. Entitled Canadians All: A Primer of Canadian National Unity, it outlined a course for Canada to adopt toward the "permanent unification of all our groups into one strong, resolute nation," particularly as the many races and creeds offered fertile ground for Nazi underground infiltration. Writing against both the Nazis and Communists, Kirkconnell contended that their smallest successes had been among European Canadians as these people knew too well what they perpetrated. The vast majority of Ukrainian Canadians, who had buried their differences for the Canadian war effort, were among those unmoved by Nazi or Soviet propaganda.

The Ukrainian Canadians had for some time been publishing booklets outlining the development and aspirations of their different organizations in the Ukrainian language. During the war their Ukrainian-language spokesmen reiterated Ukrainian Canadian loyalty in publications in the native tongue, but the war years also witnessed the adoption of English, initially on a minor scale, in both these spheres as a linguistic medium. It was no longer sufficient to reach only the ethnic group for they wished to proclaim publicly their solidarity with their

fellow Canadians in the task confronting the nation. Two examples will suffice. In 1943 the Ukrainian National Federation published a pamphlet, A Program and a Record, primarily to preserve a record of its objectives and activities during the first decade of its existence but also noting the organization's reaction to the outbreak of war. The booklet subordinated Ukrainian to Canadian concerns and stressed dedication to the defence of Canada. Also partisan, it defended the Ukrainian National Federation against attacks and allegations by the Communists and denied European affiliations. The second pamphlet, Canadians on the March, was the text of a series of radio broadcasts presented in 1944 by the Ukrainian Canadian Cultural Group at Yorkton, Saskatchewan, for the purpose of propagating their ideals to further Canadian unity and spur their own people into both service and a pride in their past. Although superficial and highly repetitive, Canadians on the March contained remarks from numerous delegates to the First All-Canadian Congress of Ukrainians in Canada, providing contemporary personal impressions of an enthusiastic response to the creation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and its objectives. It also aired views on the Ukrainian Canadian's obligations to Canada, at times intensely concerned with convincing its audience of Ukrainian Canadian loyalty and hence good citizenship.

It was between 1939 and 1945 that the Ukrainian Canadians themselves began to assume the function of English-language spokesmen of their group although their initial works were often topical. They pertained to the Ukrainian situation in Europe or professed Ukrainian Canadian loyalty to Canada and support of the Allied cause rather than examine scientifically or systematically the history of the Ukrainians

in Canada. In subsequent years the Ukrainian Canadians, both native-born and post-war immigrants, supplanted the non-Ukrainians in the field of Ukrainian Canadian research and Ukrainian Canadian historiography in the English language became a recognizable discipline.

FOOTNOTES

[1]For example, see Rev. Denzil G. Ridout, "European Sources of Non-Anglo Saxons in Canada," Canadian Geographical Journal, Vol. II, No. 3 (March, 1931), pp. 201-223, which contended that any study of Canadian life required a careful consideration of the sources of its civilization but mentioned the Ukrainians only in passing; Louis Hamilton, "Foreigners in the Canadian West," Dalhousie Review, Vol. XVII (1938), pp. 448-460; and Walter Murray, "Continental Europeans in Western Canada," Queen's Quarterly, Vol. XXXVIII (Winter, 1931), pp. 63-75, which discussed evidences of progress in education, agriculture, arts and handicrafts, and citizenship as observed through the Community Progress Competitions conducted in 1930 among the Continental Europeans by the Colonization Department of the CNR.

[2]See Charles H. Young, The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation, ed. with a Foreword by Helen R. Y. Reid of the Immigration Division of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene (Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Limited, 1931), pp. ix-xi.

[3]Young's summary of Ukrainian national history was a scholarly review and not an attempt to recount the nation's folk history. As a well-organized presentation it left little excuse for future confusion on the part of Anglo-Canadians. Later writers relied heavily on Young for their information on the historical background of the Ukrainians.

[4]Young, The Ukrainian Canadians, p. 199.

[5]Ibid., pp. 207-208.

[6]Young's observation is interesting, particularly when one considers that school teachers, too, commented on the prevalence of lying and petty thievery and the lack of shame or guilt for so doing. The Ukrainian peasant had long seen no sin in agricultural pilfering from the estate of the landlord. The wife of a Polish landlord in the Russian Ukraine before the Revolution commented in her memoirs on the peasant's sense of property. The essence of her observations was that in the peasant's mind all property belonged to either God or the master. Fruit in the orchard, hay in the haystack, timber in the forest, and grain on the threshing floor belonged to God. It was no sin or disgrace to take from these. However, the manor house and its contents were the master's own, and anyone caught stealing from them was soundly condemned by his peers. See Maria Dunin-Kozicka, Burza od Wschodu: Wspomnienia z Kijowszczyzny 1918-1920 ("Storm from the East: Memories from the Province of Kiev 1918-1920") (Warsaw, 1929), pp. 23-24.

[7]Young, The Ukrainian Canadians, p. 282.

[8]Ibid., p. 308.

[9]Robert England, The Colonization of Western Canada: A Study of Contemporary Land Settlement (1896-1934) (London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 1936), p. 308.

[10]The Ukrainian Canadians was not the only work to discuss the history of the Ukraine. In 1932, disturbed by the failure of Canadians to study such an important element in national life, Alexander J. Hunter presented a paper to the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba entitled "The Ukrainians: Their Historical and Cultural Background." Hunter's address was later published in part in Series III (10), 1955, of the Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba.

[11]At times, however, England's professional integrity could be questioned. For certain material he cited Young as his source, while in other instances, information was borrowed almost verbatim from Young without credit. For example, compare pages 73 to 75 of Young with pages 203 to 205 of England regarding the identification and description of the twelve Ukrainian bloc settlements from southeastern Manitoba to Alberta, or page 15 of Young with page 206 of England concerning the Ukrainian historical background. There is no doubt that England admired The Ukrainian Canadians as indicated in his review of it in the Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XII (1931), p. 209.

[12]England, The Colonization of Western Canada, pp. 214-215.

[13]Jessie Marion Deverell, "The Ukrainian Teacher as an Agent of Cultural Assimilation" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1941), p. 112.

[14]Leonard Bercuson, "Education in the Bloc Settlements of Western Canada" (unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1941), pp. 173-174.

[15]Charles M. Bayley, "The Social Structure of the Italian and Ukrainian Immigrant Communities in Montreal, 1935-1937" (unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1939), pp. 7-8.

[16]Byrne included the French translation of Michael Hrushevsky's abbreviated history of the Ukraine in his bibliography, while all other entries on Ukrainian historical background were listed under "Magazine Reviews."

[17]Timothy C. Byrne, "The Ukrainian Community in North Central Alberta" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1937), p. 5.

[18]Ibid., p. 83.

[19]Byrne defined assimilation as the absorption of a lesser group by a group greater in numbers, culture, and prestige. Although he did not elaborate, this suggests little of the process of "give and take" forwarded by other writers of his period.

[20]Byrne excluded the adherents of the Russian Orthodox Church and Ukrainian Labor-Farmer Temple Association, the former because of their lack of Ukrainian identification and the latter because of their internationalism.

[21]What Byrne referred to as the National Union was known in Ukrainian as Ukrayins'ke Natsional'ne Obyednanya (UNO) and in English as the Ukrainian National Federation. Where he acquired the term National Union is not stated.

[22]Byrne, "The Ukrainian Community in North Central Alberta," p. 98.

[23]Kirkconnell's interest in the ethnic groups composing the Canadian nation predated World War II. In 1935 he published Canadian Overtones, an anthology of Canadian poetry originally written in Icelandic, Swedish, Norwegian, Hungarian, Italian, Greek, and Ukrainian, translated and edited by himself with biographical, historical, critical, and bibliographic notes. He hoped this volume would open English Canadians to this significant phase of Canadian literature and an appreciation of the newer Canadians as human beings as well as arouse in the latter a pride in their racial origins. See in particular, "Ukrainian-Canadian Poetry" (pp. 76-104), Canadian Overtones (Winnipeg: Columbia Press, Limited, 1935), pp. 104.

During World War II John Murray Gibbon presented a paper entitled "A Secular Bible for a New Canada" to the Royal Society of Canada (see Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Vol. XXXVI, Series 3, Section II [May, 1942], pp. 93-100), proposing something similar. He also argued for the popularization of the national literatures of all the racial groups in Canada through selected translations of representative works. Through such a secular Bible, Canadians of all nationalities could become acquainted with the hearts and minds of their fellow citizens and so promote unity, mutual understanding, and assimilation. Gibbon suggested that Section II of the Royal Society of Canada undertake the project of translation as its contribution to post-war reconstruction.

[24]See also Watson Kirkconnell, "The European Canadians in Their Press," Canadian Historical Association Report (1940), pp. 85-92, in which he discussed their press primarily as an indication of the rate and extent of the assimilation of the European Canadians but also viewed it as a propagandistic tool, reflecting homeland movements, potentially disquieting to Canada. He maintained, however, that four-fifths of the foreign-language press in Canada were hostile to Hitler and loyal to Canada.

[25]A scathing criticism of Kirkconnell's treatment of the Ukrainian question in Canada, Europe, and Hitler was written by an inter-war Ukrainian immigrant to Canada, M. I. Mandryka, and published in 1940 by the Canadian Ukrainian Educational Association (Winnipeg) under the title The Ukrainian Question: Remarks to Prof. Watson Kirkconnell's book: "Canada, Europe and Hitler." Mandryka purported to correct Kirkconnell's "errors and misleading assertions" regarding Ukrainian history, the nationalist movement, the future Ukrainian state, and the antagonistic Ukrainian factions (nationalist and communist) in Canada, but his own "facts" and statements were in many instances wrong or open to question and his entire interpretation of the points under discussion decidedly subjective and nationalistic in tone.

[26]Watson Kirkconnell, Our Ukrainian Loyalists: The Ukrainian Canadian Committee (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1943), p. 23.

[27]See also Watson Kirkconnell, Our Communists and the New Canadians (originally delivered as an address before a meeting of the Canadian Club at Toronto, February 1, 1943), pp. 24. This pamphlet does not deal with the Ukrainians specifically or singly but indicates Kirkconnell's hostile attitude toward the Communist Party of Canada and its objectives.

[28]In a pamphlet entitled An Appeal for Justice: The Case of the Seized Properties of the Ukrainian Labor-Farmer Temple Association published in 1944, the Civil Liberties Association of Toronto sympathetically reviewed the treatment of ULFTA from its banning by the Canadian government and the seizure of its property in 1940 to its reinstatement to legal status in 1943, when that property not destroyed or sold cheaply to rival Ukrainian organizations was restored. As ULFTA received no compensation for the property destroyed and only the low sums paid by the purchasers for property sold, the Civil Liberties Association hoped to arouse Canadian public opinion to a condemnation of the injustice done ULFTA and thus spur the Canadian government to voluntarily rectify the situation. With this definite and stated purpose, the pamphlet was understandably emotional but does provide a summary of the material fortunes of ULFTA in centres across Canada during World War II.

[29]Davies made every effort to establish and emphasize the relationship between the Ukrainian National Federation and the terrorist and fascist OUN in Europe, including Nazi sympathies, and the pro-German policy of the United Hetman Organization, contending that both organizations received their leadership from Berlin.

[30]See J. W. S. Grocholski, ed., Preliminary Survey on Integration of the Canadian Racial, Cultural and Nationality Groups from the Standpoint of Canadians of Various Origins other than British or French (Toronto: Canadians All Research Division, 1944, private printing,

limited edition), pp. 31, which examined integration for the benefit of Canadian unity and nationhood when confronted with the inevitable social, economic, and political crises following victory. While basically theoretical and general in its exploration of the problems in Canadian integration, the pamphlet did use the Ukrainian Canadians in its illustrations. It concluded that the non-British and non-French elements, while sharing common citizenship, would first enter the Anglo-Saxon sphere of Canadian life and only then intermingle to create the Canadian nation of the future. They also possessed the potential to act as a binding factor between the two major groups.

CHAPTER III

THE PERIOD 1946 TO 1970

A Maturing Discipline

Since World War II, research into Ukrainian Canadian development has been conducted from historical, sociological, demographic, and philological perspectives. While non-Ukrainians have occasionally selected the Ukrainian group in Canada for examination in relation to their discipline, the bulk of the research and the majority of resultant studies have been by the Ukrainian Canadians themselves. Much of this productivity was due to Canadian-born university graduates, who manifested an interest in the history of their people in Canada and began investigating Ukrainian Canadian life on all levels. An equally powerful catalyst to the development of the study of the Ukrainians in Canada was the arrival of Ukrainian intellectuals with the migration of displaced persons to Canada after 1948. Although handicapped professionally by their ignorance of the English language, these Ukrainian immigrants were highly instrumental in the scholarly organization of the Ukrainian Canadian community. They established Canadian branches of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences and the Shevchenko Scientific Society. In this period, too, Ukrainian courses were introduced into Canadian universities. With the Ukrainian Canadian community organized intellectually as well as religiously and secularly, it is not surprising that research into Ukrainian Canadian history flourished.

As the quantity of English-language literature on the Ukrainian

Canadians has multiplied phenomenally in the last three decades, a process of selection has been introduced into this final chapter. While this is somewhat unjust, as the many shorter works and articles examining a particular narrow aspect of Ukrainian Canadian life have decidedly greater relevance to the history of the Ukrainian Canadian community than had the more detached and general works reviewed in the preceding chapters, it has been necessary. What is proposed is an in-depth treatment of the growing number of published monographs and theses directly pertinent to Ukrainian Canadian history and of those articles that express an explicit point of view or argument in their interpretation of the role of the Ukrainian Canadians in Canadian development or of the character of the Ukrainian Canadian community.

The Communist sector of the Ukrainian Canadian community has been traditionally ostracized by the nationalist majority from participation in Ukrainian Canadian activities. As a consequence, its history and role in Ukrainian Canadian development have been largely ignored in the writings of nationalist Ukrainian Canadians or so distorted as to jeopardize their reliability. The first published monograph on the Ukrainian Canadians by a Ukrainian Canadian, however, was written from the Ukrainian Communist point of view. Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation by Vera Lysenko was also compromised because of its Communist bias, but its consideration of the non-agricultural Ukrainian immigrant, characterized overwhelmingly by the single male transient laborer with his peculiar life style and problems, as a distinct phenomenon in the early history of the Ukrainians in Canada was partially compensatory. For many years Ukrainian Canadian writers relegated this phase of Ukrainian life in Canada to the background, overshadowed as it was by the

dominance of the peasant agriculturist.[1]

The first section of Men in Sheepskin Coats dealt with the history of Ukrainian immigration and subsequent development in the new country; the second, "They Came from Cossack Land," with the historical background and traditions of the Ukrainian people, portrayed in a somewhat romantic vein; and the third with the assimilation of the Ukrainians to Canadian life on various levels. While Lysenko revealed admirable insight into the psychology of assimilation and the reactions of successive Ukrainian Canadian generations to both their Ukrainian and Canadian heritages, her politcal beliefs contributed to a deliberate misinterpretation of certain phenomena in Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian development and to a false emphasis on individual movements and events. An often popular and pseudo-novelistic style and the absence of footnotes, in spite of an extensive bibliography, have also reduced the scholarly quality of Men in Sheepskin Coats.

Lysenko's initial emphasis on the Ukrainian laborer to the exclusion of the agriculturist was undoubtedly prompted by the Communist's concern for the industrial proletariat but to the unsuspecting reader it could suggest that the majority of the Ukrainian Canadians had not settled on the land.

More damaging to the dependability of Lysenko's study was her account of the religious organization and divisions in Ukrainian Canadian society. She provided a lengthy review of the establishment and fortunes of the Independent Greek Church and devoted considerable space to the East Ukrainian Stundists or Baptists, a group who emigrated to Canada in small numbers from the Russian Empire under similar stipulations as had the Doukhobors. Lysenko concluded that while Stundism had answered

"deep needs of life in the world of the Ukrainian peasant" in its reaction to religious corruption and political and economic oppression, the Independent Greek movement had been imposed from the outside and equated with the Anglo-Saxon program of assimilation. In contrast to her treatment of the Independent Greek Church and Stundism, Lysenko dismissed the growth of the Greek Catholic Church in Canada in one paragraph. She stated that "gradually the influence of this church, pursuing an aggressive policy to win converts, became the dominant religious power among Ukrainians in Canada,"[2] totally ignoring its role in Galicia as a Ukrainian national institution and the fact that the majority of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada were traditionally Greek Catholic. Lastly, Lysenko ignored the establishment of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada altogether, which further contributed to a distorted view of the religious affiliations of Ukrainian Canadians.

The final area of gross misrepresentation in the character of Ukrainian Canadian society involved community organization. Lysenko exalted the Communist Ukrainian Labor-Farmer Temple Association and its successor, the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, to a dominant position in the life of the Ukrainian Canadians and intimated that the vast majority were sympathetic to the present Soviet Ukrainian state and its Russian overlord. Although her emphasis implied that all those touched by the organization shared its political philosophy, Lysenko cannot be unconditionally criticized for her evaluation of the role of ULFTA in Ukrainian Canadian life. Charles Young had contended that during the economic depression of the 1930's, ULFTA was the sole Ukrainian organization to respond to the immediate economic and social needs of the Ukrainian Canadians and hence more successful than its

actual numbers of political adherents would testify.[3]

In her discussion of the repercussions of the events of 1917 to 1923 on the Ukrainians in Canada, Lysenko's Communist bias became glaringly apparent. She completely disregarded the Ukrainian national movement and Revolution, outlining only the establishment of a Communist government in Kharkiv, and lauded the formation of the Soviet Ukraine:

> The establishment of a Soviet Ukrainian state made possible the development of Ukraine's economy, her political life and cultural institutions on a scale not possible during the centuries of national oblivion when the Ukraine was enslaved in that "prison-house of peoples," the tsarist regime....By 1937 the country was completely industrialized, with hundreds of large factories, giant steel and metallurgical plants, machine-building shops, mining and hydro-electric industries were developed, and the whole agricultural economy was reconstructed on a Socialist basis. The development in education made similar gigantic strides: from a pre-tsarist figure of 19 higher educational institutions with 20,000 students, the number had risen by 1939 to 121 institutions with 122,000 students; public schools, kindergartens, libraries and research institutes increased proportionately. The magnitude of changes going on in their native land naturally had marked repercussions among the Ukrainian immigrants in Canada. Previous to the war, there were Socialist groups, but these had no mass appeal because they lacked direction and purpose. With the growth of the new Ukrainian state, however, a large body of Ukrainian Canadians responded sympathetically to the efforts of the Soviet Republic to develop its national life. There occurred at this period a division of thought among the Ukrainians in Canada: one group, as has been described, consisting largely of members of the Ukrainian Labor-Farmer Temple Association, regarded with admiration and approval the achievements of the new Ukrainian state; another group, now calling themselves nationalists, opposed the changes bitterly, refusing to recognize the Soviet Ukrainian State.[4]

Lysenko proceeded from this statement to sketch the development of the socialist sector of the Ukrainian Canadian community. She failed to discuss the nationalist organizations except to note antagonism to the often unadjusted inter-war Ukrainian immigrant intellectual, who remained oriented to Old World politics, on the part of the earlier settler who had earned his station in Canadian society "by the sweat of

his brow" and without the leadership of an educated élite. A serious omission that confirmed Lysenko's Communist bias, although one unnoticed by a novice to Ukrainian Canadian history,[5] was the absence of reference to the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, acclaimed by non-Communist Ukrainian Canadians as the highlight in Ukrainian Canadian organization.

Similarly, in her interpretation of the Ukrainian historical experience, Lysenko betrayed a Communist point of view, in spite of the fact that she concentrated on apolitical Ukrainian traditions, characteristics, and folk culture. Her emphasis on the Cossack heritage and its romantic image was additionally misleading as the majority of Ukrainians of the first two immigrations were not the "descendents of the Cossacks" but from Western Ukraine, historically untouched by Cossackdom. In her assessment of both Bohdan Khmelnytsky, leader of the 1648 Revolution against Poland, and of Ivan Mazepa, the hetman who challenged Peter I of Russia and met defeat at the Battle of Poltava in 1709, Lysenko adopted the official Soviet view. Khmelnytsky had been the "founder of firm union between Russia and Ukraine" while Mazepa was

> ...an adventurer who might have, if he had chosen to strengthen the union with Russia that Bohdan began so auspiciously assured for the Ukraine an honorable place among the nations of Europe; but instead Mazepa chose to align himself against the victorious Peter the Great--and thus lost a country for himself and a happy future for his people.[6]

In the final section of Men in Sheepskin Coats, Lysenko discussed the Canadianization of the Ukrainians in Canada. "Now at last, the pattern for assimilation is beginning to emerge, revealing itself, not as conformity, but as unity in diversity, enabling the immigrant, with his physical hardihood, artistry and deep sources of originality, to enter into the innumerable facets of national life."[7] She illustrated this assimilation in representative spheres--organized life, communities,

family life through the generations with the inevitable familial tensions, and ultimately in the achievement of a balanced social order--success materially and spiritually. The tendency to enumerate individual success stories to prove Ukrainian progress, vertical mobility, and integration, to be universally adopted by all Ukrainian Canadian historians, was already evident in Men in Sheepskin Coats. Lysenko stressed the cultivation of Ukrainian folk arts in the contemporary daily life of the Ukrainian Canadians but also noted changes exacted by the Canadian environment and a certain artificiality injected as the spontaneity of the original cultural milieu was lost and many customs became anachronistic in the modern industrial world. At times she spoke personally of the psychological problems of adjustment and the reconciliation of the old and the new confronting her generation, those children born to Ukrainian immigrants. Within the younger generation, she concluded, conflicts were diminishing and assimilation was triumphing. The solidarity attained by Canadians of all origins during World War II had continued in the few years since victory, and in this atmosphere the Ukrainian Canadians had become fully integrated into Canadian life until "the youngest generation belonged wholly to the New World."[8]

As an objective and balanced account of Ukrainian Canadian history, Men in Sheepskin Coats is deficient. Its emphasis on the role of the Communist element in Ukrainian Canadian society was inordinate in view of the support it commanded, yet refreshing in light of its neglect by other Ukrainian Canadian writers. Lysenko's pro-Soviet stance was equally misleading as it suggested that the majority of Ukrainian Canadians entertained similar opinions yet also informative as it expressed a point of view customarily absent in Ukrainian Canadian

histories. Men in Sheepskin Coats was to remain the sole major account of Ukrainian Canadian history to be written in English from the perspective of the Ukrainian Canadian Communist.

As Ukrainians in Canadian universities began to select topics in Ukrainian Canadian history as subjects for theses and dissertations, they chose specific areas in Ukrainian Canadian development for examination. The first thesis produced in this vein was Paul Yuzyk's initial contribution to Ukrainian Canadian historical scholarship, an M.A. thesis submitted to the University of Saskatchewan in 1948 entitled "The History of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church in Canada." Exploring new territory, it constituted the first serious and documented study of the growth of this primary Ukrainian Canadian religious institution.[9] It was basically a factual, chronological narration of its development, structure, consolidation, and activities in the Canadian environment, but also discussed the organization and history of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Europe as a prerequisite for fully appreciating the movement in Canada. Yuzyk concluded that thirty-five years after its incorporation the Canadian Church had achieved remarkable organization but since 1931 had been confronted with a decreasing number of adherents, the result of both inherent weaknesses within the Church structure and policies and trends in Canadian society. Yuzyk suggested that its survival required both internal analysis and adjustment to Canadian society.

Although chronologically not warranting examination at this point, Yuzyk's doctoral dissertation, "Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada (1918-1951)," presented to the University of Minnesota in 1958, complemented his prior study on the Greek Catholic Church in Canada.

Also a pioneer work on the rise of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada under the initiative of the nationalistic petty intelligentsia emerging in Canada,[10] its problems in obtaining recognition from the Orthodox world, and eventual stabilization, it too was largely a factual account of developments. Although neither thesis contained much of an interpretative nature, the tone of this work was more positive and sympathetic than it had been in the parallel study on the Greek Catholic Church in Canada. Yuzyk's works are still recognized as the basic English-language studies in the history of the two traditional Ukrainian churches. Other theses, however, have examined specific areas of interest in the activities of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic and Orthodox churches, notably their role in the field of education.

The first to appear, "The Ukrainian Settlers in Canada and their Schools with Reference to Government, French-Canadian, and Ukrainian Missionary Influences 1891-1921," was presented to the University of Alberta in 1958 by the Reverend John Skwarok, OSBM, as his M.Ed. thesis. The purpose of his study was "to determine what steps were taken to meet a growing challenge in education during the pioneering life of the Ukrainian settlers and wherever possible to evaluate the effectiveness of the procedures adopted."[11] Such being the case, his emphasis on French and Ukrainian Catholic missionaries and secular Ukrainian teachers to the exclusion of the Anglo-Saxon teacher and sincere activities of the prairie governments (apart from their operation of Ruthenian Training Schools) to educate the Ukrainians, presented as incomplete and misleading an account of the education of the Ukrainians in the pioneering period as had the opposite emphasis by Anglo-Saxon writers in the first three decades of the present century. "The Ukrainian

Settlers in Canada and their Schools," disregarding its Catholic and Ukrainian bias and at times emotional tone, contained little of an interpretive nature, being primarily a summary and factual record, coupled with praise, of the educational work of Ukrainian religious orders, French Canadian missionaries, and the Ukrainian teachers and training schools.

"The Ukrainian Settlers in Canada and their Schools" suffered as a unified and thematic work in that it lacked overall synthesis, material at times appeared poorly connected, and some was actually irrelevant.[12] Certain facts were also in error, while other mistakes were the result of careless editing.[13] Skwarok intimated that Poland existed as an independent country prior to 1914[14] and exaggerated the peasant's awareness of his Ukrainianness, claiming him to be "intensely conscious of his national identity."[15] In an attempt to portray as black a plight as possible of the Ukrainian peasant, compelling him to escape in migration, Skwarok erred historically. He maintained that the peasants were forbidden to speak their own language,[16] which was never true in Galicia. Even in the Russian Empire, where the Valuyev Ukaz (1863) and the Ukaz of Ems (1876) had forbidden publications in the Ukrainian language, the peasant had never been forced to converse in Russian, and, following the 1905 Revolution, restrictions on the written use of Ukrainian were also removed. In describing conditions under which the Ukrainian peasant lived in the Austrian Empire, Skwarok failed to clarify the situation as it existed prior to the Josephinian reforms at the end of the eighteenth century, after their adoption but prior to the abolition of serfdom in 1848, and after emancipation.[17] His confused account in this regard had undesirable consequences when

accepted by unknowing Anglo-Canadian writers as a truthful indication of the life of the Ukrainian Galician peasant in the 1890's and subsequent years.[18]

The second thesis to examine a traditional Ukrainian church and its role in education, "A Historical Study of the Development of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada and its Role in the Field of Education (1918-1964)," by Odarka S. Trosky, the daughter of a Ukrainian Orthodox priest, was written in 1965 for the University of Manitoba. It considered the development and activities of the Ukrainian Orthodox institutes in Saskatoon, Edmonton, and Toronto, and of the Church's various lay organizations in their promotion of education among Orthodox Ukrainian Canadians. In both instances, education encompassed religious, Ukrainian national, political, and cultural instruction as well as the more purely academic training undertaken by the institutes in question. The major portion of Trosky's thesis discussed in detail the establishment, years of besetting difficulties and internal dilemma in securing a hierarchy, and eventual stabilization of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. In this respect it paralleled Yuzyk's earlier study.

Trosky, like Skwarok, in her resumé of conditions in Galicia, forwarded totally erroneous information: "The existence of Ukrainians as a separate ethnic group was denied, learning of Ukrainian language and development of Ukrainian culture was not permitted and political organizations were suppressed."[19] She emphasized the relationship between democracy and the freedom of conscience and association discovered in Canada and the rise of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church with its ideological and practical bases in similar principles. Written

as it was with admitted Orthodox sympathies and praise for the accomplishments of that institution during the first fifty years of its existence, Trosky's work contained no objective and historical evaluation of the emergence, development, and achievements of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. This was not surprising with a bibliography comprised almost exclusively of Ukrainian Orthodox publications.

One final thesis has examined the religious life of the Ukrainian Canadians. In 1959 Murray Wenstob submitted his B.D. thesis, entitled "The Work of the Methodist Church among Settlers in Alberta up to 1914, with Special Reference to the Formation of Congregations and Work among the Ukrainian People," to the University of Alberta. He clearly endorsed the activities of the Methodist Church as his admiring description of the accomplishment of individual missionaries, Women's Missionary Society workers, and other Methodist laymen, notably medical personnel, among the Ukrainians at Pakan, Lamont, Wahstao and Kolokreeka, in Edmonton, and among miners at Blairmore revealed.[20] Quoting extensively from letters on Galician (Austrian) work published in the Methodist Missionary Bulletin, Wenstob presented only the Methodist point of view.

As his thesis considered no outside or independent evaluation of Methodist success or failure, it was not a balanced or analytical investigation of Methodist missions among the Ukrainian immigrants in Alberta although Wenstob did assess the methods and results of their work from within his own framework. He claimed that the Methodist representatives had facilitated the adjustment of the Ukrainians to Canadian life by establishing hospitals and schools in addition to emphasizing religious enlightenment. Insufficient knowledge of the

Ukrainian language on the part of the Methodist missionaries and no training in Ukrainian customs or culture, however, had been a major shortcoming. Wenstob concluded:

> Although the statistics of the Galician work do not show a marked success I am convinced that the success is showing up now in the second and third generations of Galicians. We need only to look at the United Church rolls of members and adherents to see the many Ukrainian names; names of families which came to Canada as Greek Catholics.[21]

Whether the increase in the number of Ukrainian adherents of the United Church of Canada can be attributed to early missionary work by the Methodist and Presbyterian churches remains debatable. Equally significant have been such factors as intermarriage,[22] loss of the Ukrainian language vital to the practice of the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox faiths, and increased secularization and Canadianization.

In 1952 Harry Pinuita submitted to the University of Ottawa the first thesis by a Ukrainian Canadian to concentrate specifically on a secular Ukrainian organization. "The Organizational Life of Ukrainian Canadians; with Special Reference to the Ukrainian Canadian Committee," briefly examining the various political and religious groups emerging among the Ukrainians in Canada, focused on the formation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, its achievements and role in contemporary Canadian life. Although basically sound, the introductory section on Ukrainian immigration and settlement in Canada contained a number of inexcusable factual errors. For example, Pinuita referred to Josef Oleskiw as "Nicholas" and claimed that he toured Canada in 1888 not 1895, and he referred to John Murray Gibbon as "George."[23] Organizational developments among the Ukrainian Canadians were presented in an unsatisfactory skeletal form only, and Pinuita's own biases toward the different groups were thinly veiled. He concluded that while the Ukrainian

Canadian Committee had justified its existence, it was still needed as the Communist menace persisted and the barriers of prejudice had yet eluded total destruction. In general, "The Organizational Life of Ukrainian Canadians, with Special Reference to the Ukrainian Canadian Committee," although a pioneer work on the history and accomplishments of this significant Ukrainian body, is not of high quality and has since been outdistanced as a source of information on the founding and activities of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee by more thorough studies.

Research by Anglo-Canadian students of education into the teaching of English to Ukrainian pupils and the role of the school and the teacher in Canadianization was replaced in the post-1945 era by related work by Ukrainian Canadians in the field. "An Analysis of English Errors and Difficulties among Grade Ten Students in the Smoky Lake School Division" by Michael Skuba was presented to the University of Alberta as an M.Ed. thesis in 1955. Through the administration of a standard American English examination, Skuba attempted to determine those aspects of the English language most difficult for Ukrainian students, concluding that sixty to eighty per cent of the Grade Ten students of Ukrainian origin in the Smoky Lake School Division were below the norms for their grade. In 1966 Alec Saruk submitted his M.Ed. thesis to the University of Alberta on "Academic Performance of Students of Ukrainian Descent and the Cultural Orientation of their Parents." Initially postulating that the academic performance of students whose parents were bilingual or English-oriented would exceed that of those from Ukrainian-oriented or apathetic backgrounds, upon comparing the data from an acculturation survey distributed to Grade X and XI students

in fourteen schools in northeastern Alberta with Grade IX Departmental Examination results for these schools in 1963 and 1964, Saruk was forced to conclude that no such relationship existed. A similar M.Ed. thesis, "Cultural Orientation of Rural Ukrainian High School Students," was presented to the University of Calgary in 1969 by Carolyn Rose Harasym. Lastly, in 1968 Sonia Violet Cipywnyk prepared as her M.Ed. thesis at the University of Saskatchewan a voluminous study entitled "Educational Implications of Ukrainian-English Childhood Bilingualism in Saskatchewan."

"Lexical Borrowings in Alberta Ukrainian," submitted to the University of Alberta in 1965 by Alexander Royick, focused on borrowed English words, both terms imported directly and hybrid derivatives (especially in verb forms and diminutive nouns), in the language of the immigrant Ukrainians. It also examined dialectical borrowings from continental languages--Polish, Russian, Romanian and Czech--with which the Ukrainians came into contact in Europe. Apart from its significance to students of the Ukrainian language, "Lexical Borrowings in Alberta Ukrainian" is useful for locating geographically the various Ukrainian dialects in Alberta and thus indicating a particular village or district of origin in the Ukraine. The number and type of words borrowed from the English language into Alberta Ukrainian is also indicative of the influence of the Canadian environment on perhaps the most vital Ukrainian characteristic, language.[24]

During the 1950's, two of the most outstanding students of Ukrainian Canadian history first published the products of their research. In this decade, Paul Yuzyk made the greater contribution to Ukrainian Canadian historiography with the publication of The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History, while Vladimir J. Kaye-Kysilewskyj,

who became one of the most meticulous researchers into Ukrainian Canadian development, had not yet produced his most significant work.

Kaye did write a pamphlet in 1951 entitled Slavic Groups in Canada and an article in 1955 entitled "The Ukrainians in Canada." It was contained in a collection of lectures on Canadian immigration delivered in Montreal in 1954 and published in Immigrants in Canada, edited by John A. Kosa. Slavic Groups in Canada, in addition to sections on the Ukrainian and Polish communities, had a lengthy introduction outlining the adjustment pattern of immigrant ethnic groups and their gradual merger into Canadian life. To illustrate the integration of the Ukrainian Canadians and their growing participation in Canadian social, economic (principally in agriculture), and political life, Kaye enumerated numerous individual success stories. The second article, "The Ukrainians in Canada," basically reiterated the material contained in Slavic Groups in Canada.[25]

One of the basic studies in Ukrainian Canadian history has been Yuzyk's The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History, published in 1953 as the first in a series of ethnic studies sponsored by the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba. With the Ukrainians well-represented in Manitoba and Winnipeg the metropolis of Ukrainian Canadian life--the organizational centre for secular and religious institutions, the headquarters for the Ukrainian press and publications, and the policy-making capital of the Ukrainian Canadian world--Yuzyk claimed that "the progress made by the Ukrainians in Manitoba, as well as their general attitudes and sentiments, may therefore be considered typical of the 400,000 Canadian citizens of Ukrainian extraction."[26]

Imitating the pattern adopted by all those to examine Ukrainian

Canadian development, Yuzyk introduced his subject with a resumé of Ukrainian history, openly sympathetic to the plight of the Ukraine in the twentieth century.[27] Chapters on Ukrainian immigration and settlement; progress in agriculture, industry, business and the professions; religious life; organizations; the press; literature; education and recreation; a Ukrainian Canadian cultural pattern; participation in public affairs; attitudes during two world wars; Winnipeg as the Ukrainian Canadian capital; and the process of Canadianization followed. Although it concentrated on the Manitoba situation and did not mention specific developments elsewhere, The Ukrainians in Manitoba did approach a universal history of the Ukrainians in Canada, oriented as it was through recognition of Manitoba as the heartland of Ukrainian Canadian life. On the negative side, Yuzyk's topical presentation resulted in considerable repetition from chapter to chapter.

The examination of Ukrainian immigration and its characteristics in successive periods, settlement, progress and contribution in agriculture, and movement into business, industry, the professions, and politics had been undertaken prior to Yuzyk's study. It was to be the standard method of procedure adopted by Ukrainian Canadian historians to depict the integration economically, socially, and politically of the Ukrainians in Canada. In these areas, the material included in subsequent Ukrainian Canadian histories was largely uniform. From his examination of economic progress, expansion into new endeavours, and vertical mobility, Yuzyk concluded that the Ukrainian Canadian community, which had been inordinately weighted in favor of the peasant agriculturist and unskilled laborer without an educated leadership, had gradually stratified. The formation of a middle class representing

all walks of life had stabilized the community and marked the progress of the group.

Ukrainian religious life, secular and religious organizations, and the press also received standard treatment by students of Ukrainian Canadian history in their narration of the various ideological factions, associations, and their representatives in Ukrainian Canadian society, although an author's predilection for one or another organization was frequently obvious. In Yuzyk's case, an unwarranted anti-Communist bias detracted from the objectivity and scholarly tone of an otherwise good study. The fact that he wrote during the height of the Cold War probably accounted for his desire to convihce his readers of the small support commanded by the Communist Party among the Ukrainian Canadians. Yuzyk maintained that most Canadians believed the Ukrainian Canadians to be closely associated with the Communist movement and even their churches to be "secretly sympathetic" to the Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Russia. "A small but active and vociferous minority directed by Moscow-trained leaders, has created a mirage, which has been increased to such proportions that the public has been led to believe in a Ukrainian-communist bogy."[28] Yuzyk discussed in some detail the growth of Ukrainian Canadian communism and its subversive political goals--the destruction of capitalism in Canada and its replacement by a soviet government--although camouflaged under social and cultural activities:

> ...the strength of this communist element should not be underestimated. Its activities are supported by a larger number of sympathizers and fellow travellers than are recorded in the membership. The members form a large wing of the communist movement in Canada, which is led by men well trained in revolutionary methods and in propaganda. It is wise to rememeber that the Bolsheviks in Russia formed no greater proportion when they seized the government in 1917. Fortunately, the large majority of patriotic Ukrainian

> Canadians are highly conscious of the possible threat of the fifth column in their midst and will not allow the situation to run out of control. Vigilance is the price of the preservation of our democratic institutions.[29]

Such a comment clearly established Yuzyk's personal position.

Yuzyk's manuscript was essentially completed in 1949 but he later appended a summary paragraph to each chapter, evaluating developments to 1952, outlining the current situation, and offering suggestions as to future trends. This interference is both interesting and valuable in that it indicated contemporary opinion on the immediate impact and potential influence of the post-World War II Ukrainian immigrants on the Ukrainian Canadian community. The recent immigrants had, in many instances, remained aloof from the resident Ukrainian Canadian community and created their own groups, resulting in abated concern for them by the old Ukrainian Canadians. On the other hand, Yuzyk recognized their impetus to dying institutions and the revival of Ukrainian traditions, to some extent counterbalancing the growing lack of involvement in Ukrainian affairs by Ukrainian Canadian youth. The Ukrainian Canadian press, for example, facing a bleak future prior to World War II, had expanded in the years since although its influence was still waning. A similar pattern was discernible in activities surrounding the community halls--a decrease in functions as the youth became estranged from Ukrainian culture but a partial revival under the displaced persons. The emigré poets and writers were also increasing the quality and quantity of Ukrainian-language literature in Canada. In spite of this renewed interest and vitality in the Ukrainian Canadian community, however, the general picture, as drawn by Yuzyk, was one of decline.

Yuzyk's final chapter, "The Process of Canadianization," discussed the adaptation of the Ukrainians to Canadian life. His own preference

for the "mosaic" concept of Canadian national evolution, the retention of cultural heritages without political loyalties, becoming more pronounced in later years, especially when, as a Canadian senator, he achieved recognition as a spokesman for multiculturalism in Canada,[30] was well illustrated by his conclusion to The Ukrainians in Manitoba:

> The interplay of economic forces, of democratic practice, of the many cultural traits is slowly welding all its component ethnic groups into one dynamic Canadian nation. As yet, there is no distinctly Canadian culture, but it is in process of formation. Patterns of Canadian behaviour are already becoming evident and from these will come cultural traditions.
>
> In this Canadian mosaic of peoples, the Ukrainian Canadians are consciously or unconsciously making their contribution to the creation of a common Canadian culture. Some Canadian leaders like to think of Canada as a symphony orchestra composed of a variety of instruments which play different notes, but all of which blend to give to the listener a masterpiece of harmonious and inspiring music. Other leaders like to compare Canadian culture to a flower garden in which are beautiful flowers of many varieties, colours, and scents. Among these the Ukrainian flower has its opportunity to blossom forth in rich and exciting beauty. Certain it is, that out of the best elements of the diverse cultures in Canada there will be moulded a superior civilization. To that then the wise leadership of men of understanding, sympathy, and vision, which has been forthcoming constantly from the peoples of Anglo-Saxon stock, may be worthily devoted.[31]

Yuzyk emphasized the organized and identifiable Ukrainian Canadian community as a unique entity and examined its internal composition, rivalries, evolution, and past, present, and future role in Canadian life. Subsequent writers attempting to provide a general review of Ukrainian Canadian history utilized a similar approach. Economic progress and contribution in agriculture, business, industry, and the professions; political sophistication and integration on the municipal, provincial, and eventually federal levels; and educational advancement were accompanied by a discussion of Ukrainian individual and group contributions to the Canadian cultural scene--including artistic, literary, and academic endeavours--and of the Ukrainian Canadian community itself.

With a relatively standard method of procedure and great similarity in the material presented, it becomes redundant to examine separately what an author discussed under the major subdivisions. What remains significant is a writer's emphasis, bias, or area of concentration as well as his underlying thesis or theme.

FOOTNOTES

[1]A valuable insight into life on a railway gang has been provided by an American of Slavic extraction, Ely Culbertson, in The Strange Lives of one Man: An Autobiography (Chicago, Philadelphia, Toronto: John C. Winston Company, 1940), pp. 270-273. Involved in the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway approximately fifty miles from Edmonton, Culbertson described the exploitation of the Ukrainian laborers, "naive, trusted, bearded giants," and his own role as strike leader and intermediary between them and the ruling Anglo-Saxon element.

[2]Vera Lysenko, Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1947), p. 80.

[3]See Young, The Ukrainian Canadians, pp. 146-147.

[4]Lysenko, Men in Sheepskin Coats, pp. 117-118.

[5]In a notably innocuous review of Men in Sheepskin Coats in the Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XXIX (1948), p. 88, even John Murray Gibbon, who had done some study of Ukrainian history, failed to detect the Communist bias in Lysenko's book or else he did not deem it worthy of comment. Watson Kirkconnell also reviewed Men in Sheepskin Coats (see Opinion, July, 1948), at which time he unmasked its Communist interpretation.

[6]Lysenko, Men in Sheepskin Coats, p. 148.

[7]Ibid., pp. 203-204.

[8]Ibid., p. 302.

[9]See Panteleymon Bozhyk, Tserkva ukrayintsiv v Kanadi: prychynky do istoriyi ukrayins'koho tserkovnoho zhyttya v brytiys'kiy dominiyi Kanady, za chas vid 1890-1927 ("Churches of the Ukrainians in Canada: Contributions to the History of Ukrainian Religious Life in the British Dominion of Canada from 1890-1927") (Winnipeg: Nakladom "Kandiys'koho Ukrayintsya," 1927), pp. 335, for an account of religious developments among the Ukrainian immigrants in the first three decades of the twentieth century. An Orthodox priest who transferred to the Greek Catholic priesthood, Bozhyk wrote his history from the Ukrainian Greek Catholic point of view.

[10]At first the Ukrainian intelligentsia was composed almost exclusively of school teachers. In light of emphasis by Anglo-Saxon

writers on the vital role of the Anglo-Saxon teacher in educating the Ukrainian in Canadian citizenship ideals, Yuzyk's interpretation of this early phase of the education of the Ukrainians in Canada is interesting. He commented: "To the pioneer Ukrainian-English teacher, above all, must be attributed the progress that was made in the Ukrainian settlements not only in education but in cultural, economic and political affairs." It was he who had "gradually formed out of an unenlightened and indifferent peasant a Canadian citizen conscious of his responsibilities to his adopted country and proud of his Ukrainian heritage." Paul Yuzyk, "Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada (1918-1951)" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1958), p. 104.

[11]John Skwarok, "The Ukrainian Settlers in Canada and their Schools with Reference to Government, French-Canadian, and Ukrainian Missionary Influences 1891-1921" (unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Alberta, 1958), p. ix.

[12]The inclusion of a picture of the first car in Minburn, Alberta, in the chapter on the history of Ukrainian immigration to Canada is a typical example. More significantly, Skwarok's supplement on Ukrainian literature, while informative, was extraneous to the topic of the Ukrainian settlers and their schools.

[13]To cite one instance, Skwarok inexplicably quoted two different figures for the total Ukrainian immigration to Canada to World War I, at one point stating that 150,000 Ukrainians had entered the Dominion, and at a second that 200,000 had migrated. See Skwarok, "The Ukrainian Settlers in Canada and their Schools," pp. ix and 11.

[14]Ibid., p. 11.

[15]Ibid., p. 125.

[16]Skwarok stated: "A simple rustic folk forming the backbone of the nation, lovers of the soil, but having no soil on which they could produce those necessary economic fruits, lovers of their nation and conscious of their glorious historical past, they were continually harassed by foreign governments to the point where they were forbidden to speak their own language under pain of fines and imprisonment." Ibid., p. 7.

[17]For example, Skwarok implied that such restrictions as requiring permission for marriage (see Ibid., p. 3) lasted to 1848. He also stated: "The Pan [landlord] was his judge, master, taxer, and final administrator. He also had patrimonial rights over the poor serf which meant that he could punish him corporally, and there were no laws limiting the measure of this punishment." (Ibid., p. 4). The implication was that this situation, too, existed intact to 1848. Such, however, was not the case. Joseph II had secured minimum economic and

civic rights to the peasantry by the end of the eighteenth century. One could marry without the landlord's permission and one could appeal to the state administration against abuse.

[18]See James G. MacGregor, Vilni Zemli/Free Lands: The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1969), pp. 8-9. MacGregor quoted almost the complete passage by Skwarok on conditions as they existed prior to 1848, not only retaining Skwarok's own errors (see footnote #17) but also applying the entire situation to Galicia and Bukovina of 1870.

[19]Odarka S. Trosky, "A Historical Study of the Development of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada and its Role in the Field of Education (1918-1964)" (unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1965), p. 1. See Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "The Ukrainians in Galicia under Austrian Rule," Austrian History Yearbook, Vol. III, Pt. 2 (1967), pp. 394-429, which clearly establishes the falsity of Trosky's statement.

[20]See Mabel Ruttle Nebel, "Rev. Thomas Johnson and the Insinger Experiment," Saskatchewan History, Vol. XI (1958), pp. 1-16, for a somewhat similar eulogistic account of the work of the Presbyterian Church and its representatives, notably Johnson, among the Ukrainians at Insinger, Saskatchewan. The article concisely portrays the activities of an Anglo-Saxon group in one Ukrainian community to assimilate the Ukrainian to Canadian life not through religious conversion but by education and good example.

[21]Murray Wenstob, "The Work of the Methodist Church among Settlers in Alberta up to 1914, with Special Reference to the Formation of Congregations and Work among the Ukrainian People" (unpublished B.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1959), p. 124. It is interesting to note that in 1959 Wenstob still referred to the Ukrainians by the outdated term, "Galicians."

[22]See Marlene Stefanow, "A Study of Intermarriage of Ukrainians in Saskatchewan" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1962), pp. 112, for an indication of the degree of intermarriage in that province between 1951 and 1961 as a measure of assimilation. Stefanow noted a decline in endogamy among Saskatchewan Ukrainians during this period and concluded that "Ukrainians in Saskatchewan are losing their identity as a group, or conversely, Ukrainians are taking on the prevailing Western Canadian culture which is dominated by the English speaking." (p. 96). Similar trends are likely in other provinces with a large Ukrainian population.

[23]See Harry Pinuita, "The Organizational Life of Ukrainian Canadians, with Special Reference to the Ukrainian Canadian Committee" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1952), pp. xxix-xxx.

[24]See also Alexander Royick, "Ukrainian Settlements in Alberta," Canadian Slavonic Papers, Vol. X, No. 3 (1968), pp. 278-297, which designated the districts of origin of the Ukrainian population in Ukrainian communities in Alberta and the corresponding Ukrainian dialects spoken in these localities; and Zenon S. Pohorecky and Alexander Royick, "Anglicization of Ukrainian in Canada between 1895 and 1970: A Case Study of Linguistic Crystallization," Canadian Ethnic Studies Bulletin of the Research Centre for Canadian Ethnic Studies, Vol. I, No. 2 (1969), pp. 141-219, the anglicization of Ukrainian being viewed not as a symptom of social disintegration, language decay, or acculturation, but a healthy and humorous response to a foreign environment that equipped the language for survival in its new surroundings.

[25]See also V. J. Kaye-Kysilewskyj, "Political Integration of Ethnic Groups: The Ukrainians," Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, Vol. XXVII (October-December, 1957), pp. 460-477, and "Golden Jubilee of Participation of Ukrainians in Political Life in Canada," Ukrainian Quarterly, Vol. XIX (2) (1963), pp. 167-170, which repeated Kaye's previous summaries of Ukrainian integration into Canadian political life through listing elected Ukrainian representatives on various levels and stressing Ukrainian Canadian "firsts" in this sphere.

[26]Paul Yuzyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History, with a Foreword by Ross Mitchell, President, Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba (Toronto: University of Toronto Press under the auspices of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, 1953), p. ix.

[27]The review of The Ukrainians in Manitoba by Watson Kirkconnell in the Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XXXV (1954), p. 61, suggested that Yuzyk's summary of Ukrainian history was not without its bias:

> "The only possible hint of bias comes in the historical summary (p. 18) of Eastern European warfare in 1918-20 where it is assumed that Lviv was Ukrainian in character (instead of being a fiercely Polish-minded island in a sea of Ukrainian peasantry) and where no mention is made of the joint Polish-Ukrainian campaign against the Bolsheviks in the spring of 1920; but this distortion by omission may perhaps be blamed on the hazards of compressing the complex events of two years into half a page."

Interestingly enough, Kirkconnell did not criticize Yuzyk's marked anti-Communist stand while he did remark that Yuzyk had shown "clearly that the frequent public impression that most Ukrainian Canadians are pro-Communist is completely false."

[28]Yuzyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba, pp. 96-97.

[29]Ibid., pp. 111-112.

[30]See also Paul Yuzyk, For a Better Canada, a collection of selected speeches delivered in the Senate of Canada and at banquets and conferences in various centres across Canada (Toronto: Ukrainian National Association, Inc., Canadian Office, 1973), pp. 352.

[31]Yuzyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba, p. 212.

Fiction and Memoirs

English-language Canadian fiction has neglected the Slavic immigrant in Canada and his adjustment to the new environment both materially and spiritually. This is regrettable as the Ukrainian pioneering experience and psychological trauma of immigration and adaptation, especially in light of the nationalism and dual loyalty of the Ukrainian Canadians, presents rich and innumerable possibilities for the novelist. With the exception of Connor's The Foreigner, non-Ukrainian writers have treated the Ukrainian Canadians only marginally in novels otherwise devoid of association with the Ukrainian Canadian collectivity.[1] There has been a sizeable amount of fiction in the Ukrainian language depicting Ukrainian life in Canada,[2] but only two noteworthy novels have to date appeared in English. Both may be reviewed in an historiographical essay as they vividly portrayed life in a Western Canadian Ukrainian community. The less significant of the two, Yellow Boots by Vera Lysenko, was published in 1954. The second, Sons of the Soil by Illia Kiriak, was an epic trilogy of a group of Ukrainian immigrant families settling in rural Alberta in the opening years of the twentieth century. Originally written and published in Ukrainian, a one-volume abridged version was translated by Michael Luchkovich and published in 1959.

Yellow Boots was essentially a fictional discussion of two recurring themes in English-language literature on the Ukrainian Canadians--assimilation and the "mosaic." Its central motif concerned the transition from the Ukrainian peasant culture to Canadian life and the North

American environment. Although there was need to discard that which was harmful or anachronistic, the value in much of the old sanctioned recognition.

Lysenko described in detail existence in the Ukrainian village of Prairie Dawn, Manitoba, and the surrounding countryside in which the protagonist of the novel, Lilli Landash, grew up. She portrayed a life of arduous toil relieved by religious faith and festivals, and one in which innate musicality and song as a spontaneous emotional outlet played an important role. The ancient roots of the ritual of life in this Ukrainian village on the Canadian prairies and its intimate association with nature and the changing seasons were illustrated through Ukrainian folklore, folk wisdom, marriage and funeral customs, superstitions, and religious observances. Yellow Boots preserved an excellent record of Ukrainian peasant traditions and ways of life as they were practiced for many years in the new homeland.

In the transition between old world and new, the danger existed that the quest for material wealth would precipitate the sacrifice of cultural values and create among the Ukrainian Canadians a spiritual vacuum. Anton Landash, Lilli's father, an unsatisfactory character from the literary standpoint as he entertained too many incompatible contradictions,[3] typified the Ukrainian immigrant settler who enslaved himself and his family to the land in the bid for economic betterment. Unlike Landash, however, Lilli did not sacrifice herself or the beauty and wisdom in her heritage in the process. A sensitive girl shunned and abused by her family, she found inner contentment in the ancient Ukrainian traditions and in the rhythms, colors, sounds, and motions of the natural world, which she interpreted in song. Drawing on these

resources from her heritage, she discovered the key to successfully grafting her Ukrainian cultural legacy onto life in Canada.

A natural singer responsive to the rhythms around her and the tragedy of her race, Lilli could express both the joys and sorrows of her people and ease the mental anguish of their immigration and dislocation. It was this gift, recognized by the school teacher, Ian MacTavish, who engineered Lilli's migration to the city, where she grew attune to new rhythms, that enabled her to become not only the interpreter of her race to the Canadian people but also the possession of all immigrants in Canada regardless of nationality.

Lilli's successful transition personally came with her discovery of the "factory rhythm" and imitation of the sounds of the industrial world as she had previously copied those of nature. She joined a workers' folk choir organized by an Austrian immigrant, Matthew Reiner, who, believing that songs sprang from the people, helped the immigrants in that city of exiles to retain their spiritual roots. He reflected on Lilli's personal transition from the world of nature to the world of machines:

> Was this how the true folk artist translated work rhythms, whether on the land or in the factory? "She has made the transition," thought Matthew, "and without losing her natural touch." The peasants who were forced off the land into European factories, the peasant immigrants who had gone into American industry, leaving their peasant background behind them--all had been faced with disorientation--the inner rhythm had been lost, naturally enough, reflected Matthew. He had seen the effects, not always happy, in the lives of his own choir members.[4]

In the transition from Ukrainian peasant culture to Canadian urbanization and industrialization, Lilli retained those spiritual and cultural strengths from her Ukrainian heritage which enabled her to accommodate herself to the new world.

The "yellow boots" in the novel, worn by Lilli's mother when she had met her husband and since cherished as a final tangible bond with the Carpathian homeland of her youth, became the symbol of a dying world and the good in the Ukrainian heritage. Lilli's elder sister Fialka had danced in them at her wedding but the younger sisters favored Canadian customs and styles. As Lilli rebelled against her father when he attempted to force her to marry the vulgar Zachary, vowing that the land came first, and she appealed to MacTavish for guidance, the school teacher observed:

> Why was it at this moment MacTavish suddenly thought of two opposite images--the image of Anton's great tan peasant boots as MacTavish had seen them tramping across the furrows of his newly-broken earth, and the contrasting image of the dancing yellow boots of Fialka as he had seen them at that wedding--how long ago--three years? The ruthless strides of the pioneer, beating out their harsh rhythms, crushing anything delicate that might come into their path, and the exuberant rhythm of dancing boots, tracing a pattern of joyous color: these two pictures symbolized for MacTavish the beauty and brutality in the heritage of these people. Was it not asking too much of these unlearned immigrants, he thought, that they should pause in the midst of their pioneering labours to decide how much of that beauty they should retain, how much surrender of their brutality.[5]

While on a singing tour in rural Manitoba, Lilli felt drawn to the Landash farmstead. There she noticed the economic improvements, mechanization, and modernization on the farm and in the house. Her father was now an old man, "diminished by all he had given" to the land. Her brother Peter attended the agricultural college. Her mother wore a city dress and had had a permanent, neither suiting her as had the peasant blouse and braids. The chasm separating mother and daughter was bridged as both admitted that they preferred the old--the machine harbored no soul. The yellow boots rightfully became Lilli's. As she sang to her family and childhood neighbors, she thought: "It was strange...that she who had fled that environment had built her life

upon all the old traditions which had constituted its essence, while those who had remained behind had yielded to modernism."[6] On asking Peter what she could do for her people, he replied:

> Take back with you what is best in our past and preserve it for us ...The land, that is our job...but yours is to cherish the old and give it new meaning. Through these songs, other people in our country can look into the hearts of our people, whom they once despised, and see what beauty is there. You'll speak for all of us.[7]

As literature, Yellow Boots is not memorable, for characterization is somewhat shallow and unnatural and the plot itself rather uncohesive. However, as a record of Ukrainian peasant customs and beliefs, especially as they were maintained during the first generations of Ukrainian life in Canada, it is useful. It is also valuable as a statement on the adaptation to Canada both materially and spiritually of the Ukrainian people. The secret lay in effecting a transition from peasant practices and values to urban and industrial twentieth-century Canada without forfeiting the beauty and worth in Ukrainian culture. Lilli's personal success enabled her, through her songs, to bring comparable contentment to immigrant Canadians of all nationalities. Not only would she acquaint her fellow Canadians with the best in her Ukrainian heritage but she would also utilize that best to enrich life in the new world.

Kiriak's Sons of the Soil was a much more realistic and pragmatic novel depicting Ukrainian Canadian life, without the underlying theme of assimilation or adaptation, than was Yellow Boots. It was an excellent fictional account of the homesteading experiences of five Ukrainian immigrant families--the Hrehory Workuns, the Diordy Poshtars, the Pavlo Dubs, the Toma Wakars, and the Stepan Solowys--in Alberta during the first decade of their residence in Canada. It stressed the initial

hardships, physical sufferings, and primitive existence; the homesickness; the neighborliness; the wonder at the bounty in Canada; the need for money to purchase livestock, implements, and provisions forcing men and young girls into employment elsewhere; and, finally, progress in the community, marked by the first threshing and replacement of ox with horse power. The relieving of depression and physical toil with religious festivals executed according to time-honored tradition accompanied the deep-seated desire for formalized religion and joy at the arrival of the first priest. With the eventual organization and operation of a school district came acquaintanceship with Canadian democracy and laws.

Kiriak's characters illustrated both the different possible reactions to immigration and pioneering and the emerging roles and personality interactions in the evolving community. Workun was recognized as the natural leader of the group. Pavlo Dub represented the Ukrainian immigrant temporarily reclaimed by the Old Country only to return disillusioned to Canada. Poshtar, the first settler in the district and hence interpreter of the new world to the others, became the postmaster, government-appointed secretary treasurer of the school district, storekeeper, supplier, and both benefactor and creditor for the entire community. It was he who informed one of their priests, hesitating to marry Workun's daughter Elizaveta and a non-Ukrainian, Bill Pickle, that in Canada, if one possessed money, he was a good man--his faith was immaterial.

Gradually the immigrants sank their roots into the virgin soil of Western Canada, physically and spiritually. The death of Wakar's son, Semen, during the first summer gave them their first claim to the new country:

> Thus it came about that little Semen found a grave in the virgin plain, a resting place marked by a large cross set firmly in alien soil, no longer alien by reason of his death. And the ancient symbol, which was like a challenge to the empty land seemed to say that this child and those of his blood were now dedicated to the task of transforming the wilderness into a Christian civilization.[8]

The memories of the first year in Canada, good and bad--the cold winter with poor housing and inadequate clothing as well as the carol singing at Christmas--remained vividly in the minds of the settlers in later years as the worst and the best times that they had experienced in Canada.

Sons of the Soil ended as it had begun with the reminiscences of the only surviving settler of the original immigrants--Hrehory Workun--and his death. At his funeral the son of Toma Wakar, now a graduate in agriculture, offered his eulogy to the Ukrainian pioneers:

> Their physical remains are buried here; but their good deeds will be treasured forever in the memories of succeeding generations. For they were genuine Sons of the Soil who blazed a trail that we who came after might find a less onerous and fuller life.[9]

As a classic portrayal of Ukrainian immigrant life, Sons of the Soil has thus far been unequalled.

While the Ukrainian Canadians have been highly prolific in the realm of Ukrainian-language autobiographies, there has been negligible parallel activity in the English language. This is to be deplored as the Ukrainian-language memoirs of teachers, immigrant settlers, and community leaders contain a wealth of information on the early years of Ukrainian life in Canada, particularly as an author tended to discuss developments beyond his personal concern. Of the three English-language Ukrainian Canadian autobiographies, only one merits recognition as a permanent contribution to Ukrainian Canadian historiography. It is A Ukrainian Canadian in Parliament: Memoirs of Michael Luchkovich, the

autobiography of the first Ukrainian Canadian Member of Parliament. Two lesser publications have been Taking Root in Canada: An Autobiography by Gus Romaniuk and My Heritage from the Builders of Canada by Olivia Rose Fry.

Taking Root in Canada, an English translation of the original Ukrainian manuscript, was published in 1954.[10] It recounted the life story of Gus Romaniuk, who, in 1912 as a boy of eleven, had immigrated to his father's homestead at Riverton, Manitoba. As the elder Romaniuk was among those Ukrainians who settled and farmed the forbidding marshlands of the Interlake Region of Manitoba, the securing of outside employment and supplementary sources of income was mandatory. Romaniuk himself was successively a logger, harvest hand, construction worker, railway laborer, fisherman, barber, merchant, cattleman, fur trader, and eventually hotelman and councillor in Riverton. His checkered career, extending from Saskatchewan to Ontario, illustrated the common practice among Ukrainian immigrants of obtaining employment to augment or replace their farming operations.

Romaniuk resided in a community predominantly Icelandic where the Ukrainian element appeared small and subdued. Once his youth had passed, there was no indication that he participated in Ukrainian activities or that an organized Ukrainian community existed in the vicinity. Although he remained conscious of the fact of race, he emphasized social and economic intercourse regardless of nationality. With the exception of the beginning and the final chapter, which specifically concerned the Ukrainian immigrant and settler, Romaniuk's autobiography could have been that of thousands of immigrant settlers from any of a number of nationalities. Consequently, Taking Root in Canada has limited value

as a portrayal of Ukrainian life in Canada beyond describing one incidence of economic adaptation and experimentation when farming failed.

Olivia Fry's autobiography, My Heritage from the Builders of Canada, was published in 1967. Furnishing an interesting contrast between her youthful desire to be un-Ukrainian and her later shame and regret for not having given her children an appreciation of their Ukrainian heritage, the book recalled childhood memories of homestead life in Alberta and later developments in Fry's life against the background of her voyage to the Ukraine and the Bukovinian village of her parents to seek her roots. Fry's stories of the hardships undergone by her parents vividly indicated the struggles of the Ukrainian immigrant settler to "found his kingdom."

Fry openly admired the Soviet regime in Russia and the Ukraine and included without comment the Great Russian and Soviet interpretation of Ukrainian history as told her by her cousin from the University of Chernivtsi.[11] Particularly interesting was her observation of a difference in attitude of the Galicians and Bukovinians toward Russian and Communist rule over them. Commenting on the Galicians' resistance and the Bukovinians' acquiescence, she critically related how a communal farm at L'viv had deliberately cultivated weeds to spite the weed inspector and the Communists. Her own sympathies lay with the Bukovinians: "We felt fortunate that we went to Chernovtsi [Bukovina] because had we visited Lvov [Galicia] only we would have had a different opinion of Russia altogether."[12] Outside of its description of Ukrainian pioneer life in Alberta and example of a second-generation Ukrainian Canadian evolving from the rejection of her Ukrainian heritage to its rediscovery, My Heritage from the Builders of Canada has little merit. Unity

is absent as totally divorced topics occupy the same paragraph, grammar and punctuation are atrocious, and the writing style is highly elementary.

A Ukrainian Canadian in Parliament: Memoirs of Michael Luchkovich, published in 1965, recorded the life and thoughts of a man historically important to Ukrainian Canadian development and integration on a national scale. Luchkovich, born in Pennsylvannia to Ukrainian immigrants, came to Canada in 1907 to attend Manitoba College. Here his objective Ukrainianness evolved into a conscious cultivation of the Ukrainian language and relationships. In 1912 he came to Alberta and taught in various rural Ukrainian schools in that province until his election as a Member of Parliament under the United Farmers of Alberta banner in 1926 for the predominantly Ukrainian constituency of Vegreville. He occupied his seat until 1935 when defeat plummeted him into years of mental depression and ill health. He operated a small grocery store in Edmonton until 1959 when his health forced him to abandon it. In his later years Luchkovich translated several Ukrainian-language works into English.

A Ukrainian Canadian in Parliament is a personal record of Luchkovich's activities, contributions, and thoughts as the first Ukrainian Canadian elected to the House of Commons. He emphasized his vocality against Polish pacification in the Western Ukraine in the inter-war years and his defence of the Ukrainian Canadians against their denunciation by Bishop George Exton Lloyd as two highlights of his parliamentary career.[13] Luchkovich was also appointed Canadian delegate to the International Inter-Parliamentary Union Congress staged in Romania in 1931. He returned grieved that the League of Nations was incapable of improving the Ukrainian situation.

Luchkovich's autobiography explored his philosophy of life, and, remarkably candid, often conveyed the impression of being the reflections of a man groping for something spiritual, probably the inner peace and direction to which he referred. Valuing highly freedom and democracy, Luchkovich defended the duality of his loyalties, asserting that "loyalty to the Ukrainians does not mean disloyalty to the country of my adoption."[14] In spite of the examination of his beliefs and degree of introspection, Luchkovich did not make clear his personal development, especially his early and growing contact with the Ukrainian Canadian community and interest in Ukrainian problems and his concern for the farming population which propelled him into the United Farmers of Alberta camp. Was he primarily a Ukrainian candidate or a farmers' candidate? He admitted only that the desire for fame and importance drew him into politics and writing. Luchkovich failed to mention when and under what circumstances he became a Canadian citizen. One wishes that in an autobiography where the author frequently resorted to self-analysis more attention would have been paid to intellectual development. This is particularly so as Luchkovich was the first Ukrainian Canadian visible and acknowledged on a national scale and vocal on behalf of the Ukrainians domestically and internationally.

With numerous and excellent fictional and autobiographical works in existence in the Ukrainian language, it is to be hoped that similar publications in English will increase, either as new works or translations of those presently available. Ukrainian Canadian autobiographies in particular are wealthy sources of information on Ukrainian Canadian life. The language barrier, however, has thus far limited their usefulness to the ethnic group.

FOOTNOTES

[1]See Peter Krawchuk, "Ukrainian Image in Canadian Literature," in Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and the Workers' Benevolent Association of Canada, Tribute to our Ukrainian Pioneers in Canada's First Century, proceedings of a special convention of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and the Workers' Benevolent Association of Canada, March 23, 1966, pp. 28-42, for a discussion, colored by the Communist convictions of the author, of the Ukrainian figure as he has appeared in English-language Canadian fiction.

[2]See Mykyta I. Mandryka, History of Ukrainian Literature in Canada (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1968), pp. 274, for an account of the development of Ukrainian Canadian literature, concentrating on Ukrainian-language novelists and poets utilizing Ukrainian, Ukrainian Canadian, and universal themes. It also examined scholarship by both Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians in Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian studies. Organized basically into three divisions determined by the three phases of Ukrainian immigration and life in Canada, the book provided a biographical sketch and discussion of the more meritorious works for individuals prominent in each period. History of Ukrainian Literature in Canada is particularly useful in this regard.

[3]For example, Landash emerged as unfeeling and inhuman in his attempt to force Lilli to marry an elderly and coarse, but prosperous farmer, yet he did not participate in the village condemnation of the "witch," Tamara, as he did not wish to alienate the school teacher, Ian MacTavish, whom he admired and respected. That MacTavish was equally opposed to Lilli's arranged marriage did not disturb Landash.

[4]Vera Lysenko, Yellow Boots (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1954), p. 263. Lysenko's over-riding emphasis on the peasant turned laborer was undoubtedly prompted by the Communist's concern for the working proletariat. Interestingly enough, a fellow Communist sympathizer, Peter Krawchuk, admonished Lysenko for her failure to deal with the problem of exploitation and discrimination:

> "In my opinion Vera Lysenko idealizes the life of Ukrainians in Canada, ignores the exploitation of immigrants by agents, mortgage companies, banks, storekeepers and agricultural machinery companies. She ignores the political deception of immigrants by both conservative and liberal politicians. She says nothing of the humiliation of national pride through racial discrimination which was, in the period of the novel, prevalent in Canada."

Krawchuk, "Ukrainian Image in Canadian Literature," p. 37. The question raised by Krawchuk's criticism concerns the entire function of literature in society.

[5]Lysenko, Yellow Boots, p. 201.

[6]Ibid., p. 297.

[7]Ibid., p. 301.

[8]Illia Kiriak, Sons of the Soil, trans. by Michael Luchkovich (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1959), p. 90.

[9]Ibid., p. 302.

[10]The original Ukrainian manuscript was published in 1958 under the title Moyi pioners'ki pryhody v Kanadi ("My Pioneer Experiences in Canada").

[11]That Fry harbored Communist sympathies is corroborated by the fact that one of the three forewords was contributed by J. Chitrenky, Secretary of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians.

[12]Olivia Rose Fry, My Heritage from the Builders of Canada (New York: Carleton Press, Inc., 1967), p. 103.

[13]See Appendices A and B for Luchkovich's reply in the House of Commons (1929) to Lloyd's letter and the ensuing debate and for his speech (1931) on the Polish pacification of Eastern Galicia and the ensuing debate, respectively.

[14]Luchkovich, A Ukrainian Canadian in Parliament, pp. 59-60.

Bilingualism and Biculturalism and the Canadian Centennial

In 1963 the Laurandeau-Dunton[1] Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in Canada was established. Its activities dominated a decade devoted to Canada's Centennial and a reassessment of the nature of Canadian nationhood--bilingualism and biculturalism based on the two founding races or multilingualism and multiculturalism based on official recognition of the equal partnership of all ethnic groups in the country. Ukrainian presentations to the hearings of the Commission were exceeded in number only by those of the English- and French-speaking Canadians. Book IV of the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in Canada was published in 1969 under the title Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups. Its findings and recommendations took into account the Ukrainian Canadian position. Perhaps the most vocal and highly organized ethnic group in Canada, the Ukrainian Canadian community placed itself in the vanguard in the campaign to achieve official recognition of multiculturalism and multilingualism. This role, which it viewed as its "mission" and great contribution to the development of the Canadian nation, however, was not without its critics.

In 1966 Elizabeth D. Wangenheim published an article, "The Ukrainians: A Case Study of the 'Third Force'," in Nationalism in Canada, a collection of essays edited by Peter Russell. She expressed reservations regarding Ukrainian Canadian demands for special recognition of the Ukrainian language and culture, especially if its position were

adopted as a prototype by other groups in Canada. Wangenheim accurately perceived that Ukrainian Canadian agitation for multiculturalism, and, more crucially, the continued existence of their group as an identifiable and viable entity lay in the fact that, unlike other ethnic groups in Canada, they lacked an independent motherland and thus deemed it their responsibility to preserve the Ukrainian language and culture among the "diaspora." Hence, as they provided "an extreme example of the effects which 'nationalism without autonomy' can have upon the integration of immigrants into a society such as Canada's,"[2] the Ukrainians occupied a special role in the Canadian quest for identity.

Wangenheim examined the peculiar position of the Ukrainian Canadians through the fortunes of Ukrainian nationalism in Europe; Ukrainian immigration and settlement in Canada, reflecting the course of the nationalist movement and the effects on the Ukrainian population of Canada; and the interaction of Ukrainian nationalism with the Canadian "mosaic." From their beginnings in Canada the Ukrainians had been highly visible and protective of their language and culture but unity achieved during World War II, when the Canadian-oriented goals of the more moderate Ukrainian groups triumphed, was disrupted by the influx of European-oriented political refugees after 1945:

> By constantly claiming that the USSR's Russification tactics pose a threat to the continued existence of a Ukrainian language and culture, they have created within many of the younger generation, born or educated here, a sense of commitment--an obligation to fight for the perpetuation of the Ukrainian language, the glorification of Ukrainian history and culture, its myths and symbols. This appeal tends to be more powerful than all the pressures working towards a dissolution of close in-group ties--both the pressures of intergenerational cross-cultural conflict and the monetary and social attractions of the larger society. While this appeal probably has the greatest impact on post-war immigrants and their children, it also finds a response among many of the Canadian-born Ukrainians who have been baffled in their attempts to be 'just Canadian' by their failure to perceive any solid content in Canadian identity....

> Thus, the post-war immigration which aided in raising the image of 'the immigrant' in the eyes of the host society also created a counter-structure diminishing the likelihood of the early cultural and structural assimilation of minority ethnic groups into a more homogeneous society.[3]

As each ethnic group in Canada appeared interested solely in its own heritage and discouraged outsiders from participating in its activities, Wangenheim challenged the validity of the very concept "mosaic." The Ukrainians and other groups resented adopting Canadian symbols of British and French origin but also questionable was the relevance of Shevchenko, Ukrainian literature, and Cossack tales to non-Ukrainian Canadians. Some ethnic groups were satisfied to maintain their language and culture through their own financial resources and efforts but the Ukrainians were not. Such demands as the teaching of Ukrainian in the public schools, CBC programs in Ukrainian, and the consideration of Ukrainian-language literature for the Governor-General's Award meant the expenditure of public funds to promote the interests of a specific group and according the Ukrainian Canadians special status. This could signify a trend.

National oppression, current Russification, and the struggle to obtain recognition as a nationality had caused the Ukrainians to strive to preserve the Ukrainian language and culture abroad and to project their image of Ukrainian identity regardless of its impact on Canadian unity. Expressing the fear that acceptance of the Ukrainian Canadians as spokesmen of the "Third Force" could endanger Canadian unity, Wangenheim concluded:

> ...regardless of the diversity which may exist among minority ethnic groups, the concept of the Third Force is acquiring wide currency in Canadian political thought and there is an equally wide tendency to perceive the Ukrainians as the spokesmen of this force. If, as a result of these developments, other minority groups should come to regard the Ukrainians as a model of what an ethnic group's position

> should be, then many of them, regardless of their own different history and relationship to their homeland, might come to expect the same type of treatment as the Ukrainians. In this event, the difficulties involved in coping with the basic problem of Canadian identity might well be intensified.[4]

Interestingly enough, Wangenheim did not state whether or not she considered the Ukrainian position justified in light of the Ukrainian historical experience and present situation in the Ukraine. That she felt it potentially detrimental to Canadian interests is clear. Her thesis is a significant commentary on the attitude of the Ukrainian Canadian community toward bilingualism and biculturalism (and thus multilingualism and multiculturalism), particularly in light of the themes to emerge in studies of Ukrainian Canadian history published in conjunction with the Canadian Centennial.

In 1964 Vladimir J. Kaye published his major contribution to Ukrainian Canadian historiography. Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895-1900: Dr. Josef Oleskow's Role in the Settlement of the Canadian Northwest was the first in a series of cultural, historical, and sociological research projects sponsored by the Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation.[5] Significant to both Ukrainian Canadian and general Canadian history, its account of the inauguration of Ukrainian immigration to and initial colonization in Canada from the official perspective has been a valuable study in the history of Canadian immigration and settlement in the closing decade of the nineteenth century. Kaye made extensive use of primary and documentary source material, particularly government files and papers, to provide a well-researched and well-documented, factual and chronological record of developments. The book contained little of an interpretive nature and minimal concern for the human element involved. As an excellent source book,

however, Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada fulfilled the author's objective.

The book itself consisted of two parts. The first considered the role of Oleskiw in initiating the Ukrainian movement to Canada, his Canadian tour of 1895, his immigration scheme for an orderly and controlled movement of selected farmers with means and assisted by the Canadian government, and his attempts to regulate Ukrainian immigration on both sides of the Atlantic in the years 1895 to 1900. Kaye utilized the correspondence between Oleskiw and various Canadian government officials, intergovernmental communiqués, and Oleskiw's two pamphlets, Pro vil'ni zemli and O emigratsii,[6] to provide a comprehensive and detailed picture of developments. He examined the role of the Prosvita ("Enlightenment") Society in L'viv in its support of Oleskiw and promotion of Ukrainian immigration to Canada over Brazil, the reaction of the Ukrainian intellectual community in Galicia to Oleskiw's proposals, and the efforts of Ukrainian popular educational societies to facilitate the movement. He also discussed the opposition of the Austrian government and the Polish faction in the Vienna Parliament to a mass movement of peasant agriculturists. Thus, the instigation of Ukrainian immigration to Canada was viewed not only or primarily as a response to the Canadian desire for agricultural immigrants, conveniently complemented by economic destitution and political oppression in Eastern Europe. It was examined as an Austrian Galician phenomenon with initiative from Galicia and concerned Ukrainians on official and semi-official levels. Ukrainian Canadian historiography had hitherto not examined the Galician angle of Ukrainian immigration to Canada at the turn of the century with the same thorough research and documentation as did Kaye.

Kaye's findings certified that the groundwork for the mass immigration of the "men in sheepskin coats" had been laid prior to the administration of Clifford Sifton when his immediate predecessors in the Department of the Interior responded to the advances and enquiries of Oleskiw. Kaye contended that if the Canadian government had recognized the wisdom in Oleskiw's scheme for supervised and assisted immigration, many of the ensuing difficulties and hardships encountered by both Canadian government officials and Ukrainian immigrants could have been avoided.[7] By 1900 Oleskiw was transferred from his position as Professor of Agriculture at the Teachers' Seminary in L'viv to the Directorship of the Teachers' Seminary at Sokal and his activities in Ukrainian immigration dwindled and finally ceased. His health worsened and in 1903 he died. Today, although largely forgotten, Oleskiw "nevertheless deserves at least a modest niche among the builders of the Canadian West for having initiated and for five years vigorously and successfully propagated the emigration of Ukrainian settlers to Canada."[8]

Part Two of Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada examined the founding and development to approximately 1900 of the first Ukrainian colonies in Canada--Stuartburn, Dauphin, Pleasant Home, Strathclair and Shoal Lake in Manitoba; Rosthern and Yorkton in Saskatchewan; and Edna-Star in Alberta, the oldest Ukrainian settlement in Canada. Again Kaye utilized government reports, intergovernmental correspondence and communiqués as well as Ukrainian memoirs and travelogues to depict, factually and statistically, the fortunes of these communities during their formative years. The magnitude of the assignment facing the Canadian government officials in overcoming countless difficulties in actually settling and managing so many immigrants of foreign language

and customs has been brought sharply into focus. The documents cited indicated that the government exerted pressure to have the Ukrainians located where it wished while the Ukrainians were frequently equally as adamant to settle near friends and relatives. They also conveyed the impression that the government officials were sincerely concerned with the fate of the Ukrainian immigrants in their charge.[9] Kaye additionally dispelled the myth that all Ukrainian immigrants in the first years of their immigration to Canada were poverty-stricken peasants. Many were peasants of means while others came from the long-impoverished Ukrainian nobility. In a summary chapter, Kaye noted, by the turn of the century, growing prosperity in these colonies, their physical expansion, integration, and interest in municipal districts, schools, and churches. He concluded:

> Dr. Oleskow never doubted that the Ukrainian settlers and their children would "become very soon truly Canadians," as he wrote in one of his letters to the Minister of the Interior in 1896. Oleskow's unstinting efforts on behalf of his people and his tireless striving to improve their lot through emigration to Canada have indeed been well rewarded--his vision has come true.[10]

A final section in Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada contained biographical sketches of Ukrainian, Canadian, and Austrian figures important to the early years of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. Kaye also included indices of surnames and place names.

Through his analysis of the material at his disposal, Kaye was able to correct certain misconceptions or wrongly-placed emphases regarding the composition of the Ukrainian immigrants, the impetus behind their movement, and the nature of their settlement. His publicization of Oleskiw's interest in Ukrainian immigration to Canada and his connections with Canadian government officials and immigration policies has

added a new dimension to the chapter of Canadian history on immigration and the opening of the Canadian West to settlement. Horizons have been extended beyond the immediate Canadian scene to stress European initiatives and intercommunication and co-operation between Canadian and Ukrainian representatives on high levels. Above all, Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada is a reliable record of the inauguration of Ukrainian immigration to Canada and early developments in the first colonies.

In 1965 the First National Conference on Canadian Slavs was held at Banff, Alberta, followed by a second conference in Ottawa in 1968. The proceedings of both sessions were published in two volumes entitled Slavs in Canada.[11] They contained numerous interesting and informative articles on selected aspects of Ukrainian Canadian life. Charles W. Hobart presented the results of a sociological survey in "Adjustment of Ukrainians in Alberta: Alienation and Integration." "Some Demographic Aspects of the Ukrainian Population in Canada" by Warren E. Kalbach investigated the degree to which the demographic character of the Ukrainians in Canada approached or diverged from the general Canadian pattern. V. J. Kaye, in "Three Phases of Ukrainian Immigration," provided an excellent summary of the characteristics and outlooks of each wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. Elizabeth D. Wangenheim presented a final paper to the Banff Conference entitled "Problems of Research on Ukrainians in Eastern Canada," based on the obstacles that she encountered personally when researching the Ukrainians of metropolitan Toronto as a sociologist and a non-Slav.

M. Chomiak spoke to the Ottawa Conference on "Contributions of Ukrainians to the Development and Growth of Schools in Alberta,"

concluding that the Ukrainians' share in the development of Alberta's school system was greater than their proportion of the population. W. Janishewskyj, in "Ukrainian Engineers in Ontario," utilized sample case histories to illustrate the Ukrainian contribution in this field since World War II. V. J. Kaye presented a similar paper on "Early Ukrainian Graduates of Agricultural Colleges," including pertinent personal data for forty-six such Ukrainian graduates between 1921 and 1941 and describing their role in the agricultural achievements of the group as well as their own entry into the federal and provincial governments and research. A. Maslanyk and M. Chomiak discussed important individuals of Ukrainian background in "The Scientific Contribution of Ukrainians to the Industrial Development of Canada," while M. Plawiuk briefly examined Ukrainian Credit Unions in Canada. In "Studies in Ukrainian Literature in Canada" Orest Pawliw outlined such dominant trends as the tendency to examine problems and themes in Ukrainian literature either banned or distorted in the Soviet Ukraine. "Ukrainian Free Academy of Science--UVAN of Canada" by Jaroslav B. Rudnyc'kyj examined another facet of intellectual activity and organization in the Ukrainian Canadian community. John H. Syrnick, in "The Ukrainian Canadian Committee: Its Significance in the Canadian Society," sketched the formation of that body, its principles and objectives, and its achievements.

A particularly interesting paper, "The Development of Political Socialization of the Ukrainians in Alberta," was presented to the Ottawa Conference by Sidney I. Pobihushchy. Political socialization, or the induction of an individual or group into the political life of a community or society, was examined among four groups of Alberta Ukrainians--

three based on the waves of immigration and the fourth those Canadian-born or coming to Canada as young children--to test the hypothesis that a strong relationship existed between the nature and degree of Ukrainian immigrant socialization into Canadian political culture and the type of political culture from which they came. Pobihushchy concluded that the first two immigrant groups, from parochial and subject political cultures respectively, were oriented first to local and secondly to federal politics. Their socialization was gradual except for the traumatic experience of the depression, when the most common sentiment among those of the second immigration was disenchantment with Canada and the desire to return to Europe. The third immigration, highly political and nationalistic in outlook because of participation in political parties and independence movements in Europe, gravitated first to federal politics as a means to have their national identity protected. Those Canadian-born Ukrainians followed normal Canadian patterns of political socialization.

A final paper read before the Ottawa Conference, "Ukrainian Church Architecture in Canada," was presented by Radoslav Zuk. He described three phases of Ukrainian church architecture in Canada: the early vernacular phase introduced by the original immigrants, the disorientation phase characterized by an absence of plan or design or by the revival of a pseudo-baroque style, and a recent attempt by a small number of architects to discover a new form of Ukrainian church architecture relating to both the traditional architectural forms and contemporary twentieth-century urban Canada.

In conclusion, it can be readily observed that Slavs in Canada covers a wide spectrum of topics and quality of research in its papers

on the Ukrainian Canadians. As well as containing useful and interesting information, these articles indicate the broadening base of research into Ukrainian Canadian development from various perspectives.

As the seventy-fifth anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada was celebrated in 1966 and the Canadian Centennial in 1967, numerous studies on the history of the Ukrainian Canadians were published. Appearing also at the height of the debate on bilingualism and biculturalism and the growing popularity of multiculturalism, they reflected Ukrainian Canadian concern for the official protection of their language and culture as an integral component of Canadian life. These works stressed both integration and the perpetuation of a distinct Ukrainian Canadian society and cultural entity.

The first publication to honor these landmarks was Tribute to our Ukrainian Pioneers in Canada's First Century, the record of proceedings of a special convention of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and Workers' Benevolent Association in 1966 to commemorate the seventy-fifth anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada. Sponsored as it was by two leftist organizations, the conference revealed an obvious Communist and pro-Soviet bias in its program. It received congratulatory messages from the Ukraine, including a special broadcast by Radio Kiev from the kinsmen of the first Ukrainian immigrants from Nebyliw,[12] and greetings from the Soviet Ambassador to Canada by the First Secretary, who labelled as propaganda the charges that the Ukrainian language and culture were being destroyed in the Soviet Ukraine; and it stressed the fraternity of the Joint Convention with the USSR and its Ukrainian brethren. A laudatory booklet lacking a scholarly base and depth, Tribute to our Ukrainian Pioneers in Canada's First Century is

nevertheless interesting as its point of view contrasts so markedly with the position of the great majority of Ukrainian Canadian writers.

The booklet contained numerous individual speeches on various aspects of Ukrainian Canadian life. Two dominant themes emerged--those of exploitation and discrimination by the Anglo-Saxon element in Canada. For example:

> Historians will one day record that our pioneer immigrants were brought to this country on the lowest possible terms. They were lauded as fine specimens of brawn and muscle, for their prodigious capacity to perform back-breaking work, but were rejected and reviled as specimens of humanity.
>
> The shocking truth is that the early immigrants from Eastern Europe were the victims of racism in the new land. It was a cross that they bore, together with their first-born, for the greater part of their 75 years here, and the bruises of that burden are still painful to the touch.[13]

The Ukrainians' struggle for human rights had begun with the predecessors of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and Workers' Benevolent Association, those socialist and communist organizations, still discriminated against, who had gradually raised the Ukrainian Canadians from inertia and submission to human dignity and a consciousness of their role in Canada. It has been left to these "progressive" left-oriented Ukrainian Canadians to "maintain and encourage ties of culture and friendship with the ancestral well-spring of Ukrainian culture--Ukrainian SSR."[14]

In general, Tribute to our Ukrainian Pioneers in Canada's First Century has limited value to Ukrainian Canadian historiography as its repeated emphasis on discrimination and exploitation overshadows any other information of significance. It is interesting, however, as an interpretation of the role of the Ukrainian Canadians in Canadian society, from the point of view of the Communist and pro-Soviet sector of

the community, represented by the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and Workers' Benevolent Association.

In 1967 Wasyl Veryha submitted to the University of Ottawa, as his M.A. thesis, "The Ukrainian Canadian Committee: Its Origin and War Activity." A factual, cut-and-dried narrative of the steps, hindered by religious and political factionalism, culminating in the creation of that body and of its activities during World War II, Veryha's thesis also embraced the concept of the Ukrainian Canadians as a member of the "Third Element" in Canada. The "most dynamic and best organized ethnic group" within the "Third Element," the Ukrainian Canadians had attained this position only with the formation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and burial of damaging internal dissension. Veryha stated:

> The present work is an attempt to present the difficulties encountered by the Ukrainian Canadian community in the process of the formation of the Canadian nation and the complexity of the Canadian society at large. Since Canada is celebrating her Centennial year it seems to be a proper time to analyze the place and role of the Ukrainian community in the process of the building of a Canadian nation. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee is a co-ordinating and representative centre, has contributed a great deal to the reduction, if not to the elimination, of the detrimental dissension among Ukrainians, which hurt not only the Ukrainian Canadian community but also the Canadian society in general, especially during the war years.[15]

The activities of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee were an excellent case study of a well-organized and united ethnic group in Canada meaningfully contributing to the building of the Canadian nation.

A pamphlet by William Darcovich, Ukrainians in Canada: The Struggle to Retain their Identity, published in 1967 under the auspices of the Ottawa Branch of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance Association, revolved on the recurring theme but yet unexamined problem of the dual identity of Ukrainian Canadians--the desire both to remain a distinct cultural group and to integrate into Canadian society. Darcovich commented:

> I became convinced that these efforts were not simply casual and that if the Ukrainians had experienced any success in developing and maintaining an identity in this dual sense it was because of their strong and conscious efforts to do so, often under difficult conditions. To do as much in the future will require even more effort and this struggle for identity is the main theme of this work.[16]

As further Ukrainian immigration is currently unanticipated, the future of the Ukrainian Canadian community will be determined by its present composition and the influences of Canadian society and the North American environment brought to bear upon it.

In spite of Ukrainian Canadian insistence on the "mosaic" concept of Canadian nationhood, reflecting the unique position of the Ukrainian Canadians without an independent homeland, various conditions have been operating toward the disintegration of a distinct Ukrainian Canadian entity. The migration to urban industrial areas, where the majority of the Ukrainian Canadian population now resides, has worked to the detriment of the Ukrainian Canadian collectivity as assimilative forces were more active than in homogeneous rural blocs. The Ukrainian language has been threatened although efforts by Ukrainian private schools and to have Ukrainian introduced into the public school system and universities have proven successful, and retention of the mother tongue has been more prevalent than for many other ethnic groups. The sharp increase in intermarriage has lessened allegiance to the two traditional churches. As family and Ukrainian religious influences decrease with urbanization, secularization, and intermarriage, it will grow more difficult to preserve Ukrainian cultural patterns, values, and distinctiveness as an ethnic group. The Ukrainian Canadians also occupy lower levels on the educational and occupational scales, indicating imperfect integration in these spheres. Darcovich concluded:

> While the Ukrainians were able to develop and maintain a separate identity under predominantly rural conditions, it will be more difficult to do the same in the urban environment in which they now live; at the same time the opportunities which city life offers should make it easier for the Ukrainians to reduce the educational and occupational disparities which have become rooted among them. The challenge to the future growth and development of the Ukrainians will be to overcome these important disparities and still continue to maintain a distinct entity.[17]

Like other Ukrainian Canadians writing on their community during the Centennial celebrations, Darcovich emphasized the duality of its identity. However, he did not consider Ukrainian Canadian duality as successfully or permanently accomplished, for he noted both the obstacles to complete integration into Canadian life and the threats to the continued preservation of Ukrainian language and culture in twentieth-century urban Canada. On the other hand, Paul Yuzyk glorified the achievements of the Ukrainian Canadian community without acknowledging contradictory influences.

In 1967 Yuzyk wrote a popular account of Ukrainian Canadian history, Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life, published by the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation as its Centennial project. Only a skeleton, it did not claim to be exhaustive and lacked depth and synthesis in its sketch of the characteristics of Ukrainian immigration and settlement; distribution in Canada; achievements in agriculture, business, industry and the professions, politics, and literature; contributions in government services and the military forces; cultural and educational progress; church life; and organizational structure.[18] In an attempt to illustrate how much the Ukrainians have contributed to the general prosperity and enrichment of Canada as proof of the degree of their integration and right to full partnership, Yuzyk listed countless individuals of Ukrainian

descent who have achieved prominence in these fields. The Ukrainian claim to full partnership, Yuzyk contended, belonged equally to all components of the so-called "Third Element" although the Ukrainian Canadians have thus far outdistanced other ethnic groups in such endeavours as participation in the political life of the nation.

Yuzyk heralded the creation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee as the highlight in Ukrainian Canadian history. Its supreme purpose was, in his words:

> ...to promote the positive participation of the Ukrainian group in Canadian politics, in the cultural evolution of this country and in all aspects of its economic and social life, as responsible partners with the British, the French, and the other ethnic groups of our Canadian nation; emphasis is placed on the distinctive cultural identity of the Ukrainian Canadian community as a valuable component of the Canadian nation.[19]

Its presentations to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism demanding official recognition of multiculturalism awoke Canadians to the vitality of the Ukrainian Canadian group and its significance to Canadian life.. "Through the Committee the Ukrainian Canadians have negotiated with the federal and provincial governments, with universities and municipal governments as Canadians and because of their achievements, united leadership and efforts have won national stature and some recognition as partners."[20]

The "Third Element" in general merited deference, especially as it was demonstrating greater articulateness, inter-group co-operation and unity, and hence readiness to assume greater responsibilities as a full and equal partner in Confederation. Its demands were all-encompassing:

> Anxious to be a positive force supporting the development of a strong democratic Canadian nation composed of the finest treasures of the various cultures, based on the concept of "unity in continuing diversity" and equality of all citizens, the Third Element ethnic groups want to see more and proper recognition given to them in history books and other school-texts, in CBC programmes, in

> government bodies such as the Canadian Council, Centennial Commission etc., in the Canadian Expo and exhibits of embassies, publications and in appointments on merit to the Senate, cabinet portfolios, judgeships, and offices of Lieutenant-Governors and even of the Governor-General. To promote the full participation of all our citizens in the cultural growth of the Canadian nation, the time has come for the establishment of federal Department of Culture.[21]

Yuzyk's was definitely a plea for the recognition and development of the "Third Force" as a viable element in Canadian society. In this regard, Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life exceeded the limits of a history devoted exclusively to the Ukrainians in Canada. It afforded an excellent opportunity for Yuzyk to restate his position on multiculturalism and the "Third Element" as a force in Canadian life.

Yuzyk closed with the "mission" of the Ukrainian Canadians, thereby allotting to them a value and purpose in remaining an identifiable group within Canadian society. The Ukrainian Canadians have adopted as their responsibility the task of informing the Canadian government and public of the dangers in Communism and the necessity of vigilance against its expansion. Such consciousness should ensure them a greater role in formulating and executing Canadian foreign policy. They have been additionally significant in promoting the realization of cultural values, and, as members of the "Third Element," possess the potential to serve as a unifying bond between the two founding races in Canada.[22]

Yuzyk concluded:

> If we succeed, and we are well on the road to succeeding, to evolve the pattern of unity in continuing diversity through the application of the principles of Confederation and compromise, this will serve as precedent for other states in the world having similar population and cultural problems. It will be Canada's contribution to the world. Let us also remember that in Canada we have the world in miniature. World peace and order could be achieved if the principles of unity in continuing diversity, brotherhood, equality, compromise, justice and the recognition of the freedom and dignity of individuals and nations are honestly applied. With a rich background and wealth of experience as our legacy, Canadians of all

> origins, united, can look ahead into the next century with faith, understanding, and confidence.[23]

Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life is not so important for its account of Ukrainian Canadian history, although a useful summary for the novice, as it is for outlining Senator Yuzyk's concept of the role of the "Third Element" in Canadian society, especially in reference to the Ukrainian Canadian community to which he himself belongs. His book is an excellent commentary on multiculturalism in Canada as interpreted and desired by one of its most vocal ethnic groups.[24]

The most substantive study on the Ukrainian Canadians to emerge during Canada's centennial year was The Ukrainians in Canada by Ol'ha Woycenko, the fourth volume in the Canada Ethnica Series sponsored jointly by the Centennial Commission and the Canada Ethnic Press Federation.[25] Woycenko defined her thesis as follows:

> My purpose was twofold: to portray the process of integration into the general stream of Canadian life on the one hand, and the endeavours to preserve the group's identity on the other. In this critical documented analysis of these processes there is no emphasis on details or case histories; they occur only when they are relevant to illustrating or reinforcing the theme of my work.[26]

Like Yuzyk's book published that same year, Woycenko's study was a plea on behalf of cultural diversity in Canada. She addressed herself both to the larger Canadian community, requesting official recognition of such, and to the Ukrainian community, urging it to reach a point of unity and co-operation in its endeavours to ensure its future preservation and growth.

A commendable reference book, well-documented, footnoted, and organized, on Ukrainian Canadian development and over-all view of Ukrainian Canadian life, The Ukrainians in Canada was nevertheless

primarily a survey. Contrary to Woycenko's prefatory claims, it concentrated heavily on case histories and name-dropping, particularly of those individuals who achieved fame and success on a national scale. This approach represented the Ukrainian Canadians as self-laudatory, anxious to prove the value of an entire ethnic group through the achievements of selected individuals. To render such a scheme valid, the enumeration of Ukrainian Canadians prominent in less desirable fields--such as crime--is equally necessary to obtain a complete picture.[27] If the success of specific members reflects the success of the whole community, then the converse is also true. The question also arises as to whether the Ukrainian Canadian population as an entirety can claim credit for the achievements of all Canadians of Ukrainian origin, especially in fields unrelated to Ukrainian Canadian pursuits or when the designated individual has no associations with the organized and identifiable Ukrainian Canadian community. While such persons do indicate Ukrainian Canadian integration into Canadian society they no longer affect Ukrainian Canadian development as they are lost to the community economically, socially, religiously, and culturally. This problem requires greater examination, particularly in light of the popularity of name-dropping to indicate Ukrainian Canadian integration among current Ukrainian Canadian historians.[28]

Like other Ukrainian Canadian historians, Woycenko outlined Ukrainian economic progress and integration. In agriculture it was achieved through the complementary activity of peasant farmer and professional agronomist. Beginning at the lowest level in Canadian industry and labor, unskilled as they were, the Ukrainians had soon launched into economic growth under both individual initiative and organized

co-operative ventures. Ukrainian businessmen and merchants gradually replaced the Jews who had originally served the Ukrainian communities. Economic stratification in Ukrainian Canadian society proceeded as entry into and expansion in business and the professions continued. There emerged a new leadership in both economic and socio-cultural spheres as well as a group of individuals who came to view their relationship to the Ukrainian Canadian community as one of service only. Consequently, Ukrainian Canadian society today is stratified as is that of any ethnic group with those strongly identified with and molded by the ethnic community, those retaining their Ukrainian heritage but fully participating in Canadian life, those ethnically alienated but secure in universal values, and those bound by materialism.[29]

In the more purely cultural sphere, Woycenko examined the religious history of the Ukrainian Canadians, claiming that the retention of the traditional forms of worship was as significant to the Ukrainian identity as was the preservation of language and customs. Simultaneously, however, religious divisions have precluded co-operation on such important matters as vernacular education and cultural projects and have for decades rent the community into hostile factions.[30]

Regarding the education of the Ukrainians, Woycenko challenged the standard approach to the subject:

> ...the first years of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, when new school districts were being organized and the school buildings erected; the difficulties encountered in acquiring qualified teachers in the developing communities; the language barrier between teachers and settlers, and the problems created through misunderstandings. All these studies delve into the bilingual school system in the Prairie Provinces (especially Manitoba), the difficulties which evolved, and the ultimate abolition of this system.[31]

Later writers had repeated the contentions of those contemporary to the situation that the Ukrainians, fearing assimilation, were hostile to

English teachers and the public schools.[32] Woycenko, however, claimed that many of the problems were not peculiar to schools in Ukrainian districts and that the Ukrainians, eagerly desiring the education denied them in the homeland, often assumed the initiative in having a school district established. "Contrary to Young and Yuzyk's suppositions that Ukrainian immigrants were 'opposed to English schools,' the Ukrainians took advantage of the educational opportunities."[33] In this process the leadership role and influence of committed idealists, the early Ukrainian bilingual teachers, were monumental. With the abolition of bilingualism, Ukrainian schools and institutes, financed by the Ukrainian population, assumed the responsibility of perpetuating the Ukrainian language and culture. Lack of co-operation among the different religious and secular organizations, however, has impeded the co-ordination of efforts to improve quality and introduce standard curricula.

Politically, Woycenko did examine the role of the Ukrainian legislator in relation to his constituents and his ethnic group. She admitted that in many instances the image of spokesman for the race has been overemphasized, for duty to the state has received priority over ethnic interests. However, the Ukrainian representatives have had special responsibilities when the questions of ethnicity in Canada and an independent Ukraine have been raised and debated in Canadian legislatures.

In the final two chapters of The Ukrainians in Canada Woycenko discussed the evolution of a Ukrainian Canadian society and the future of the Ukrainian community in Canada. The initial peasant immigrant, having no guidelines, had built his life in Canada on foundations and traditions with which he was familiar, particularly religious life.

Preoccupation with the church in turn delayed the development of secular institutions. Local secular organization prior to World War I mushroomed in the inter-war years as new political groups were introduced and dominion-wide networks established. Friction within Ukrainian Canadian society mounted as the old Ukrainian Canadians with their Canadian orientation were criticized by nationalist immigrants. The connections of the Ukrainian National Federation, founded in Canada in 1932, with the fascist and militaristic Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in Europe, alienated many Ukrainian Canadians, including the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, which placed Canadian above Ukrainian objectives.[34] Political factionalism, added to the religious divisions of the first immigration, further differentiated the Ukrainian Canadian community. During the inter-war years there were attempts at unity but outward conciliation in a national superstructure was not realized until 1940.

Woycenko was highly critical of the inflexible constitution of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee[35] and she contended that its undemocratic practices kept many capable Ukrainian Canadians from participation in its activities:

> Thus the question arises: is the Ukrainian Canadian Committee truly a representative body of Ukrainians in Canada and the spokesman for the whole community, which it claims to be, when many influential individuals and organizations are outside its framework. And if not, why is this inflexible system tolerated and supported by a comparatively large part of the community. One of the answers might be the <u>image</u> of "unity" and "consolidation" which has been burning the minds and hearts of Ukrainian Canadians for decades. For the sake of this image, issues are overlooked or neglected; individuals and organizations tolerate the situation as a temporary one. Eagerly they await changes in the system. The Ukrainian community fervently hopes that in time the Committee will be re-organized on truly democratic principles, and that the executive will be elected on merit only, rather than on the basis of mechanical representation of the "big five." It is hoped that in this way the Ukrainian Canadian Committee will become a truly representative, co-ordinating

> body, which will stand the test of time and meet the requirements of the community as a whole.[36]

Although writing as a Ukrainian Canadian concerned for the future of her ethnic group in Canada, Woycenko was not impervious to its shortcomings, and, unlike her contemporaries examining Ukrainian Canadian development, she was not averse to publicizing them. Her assessment of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee stands in marked contrast to those of Veryha and Yuzyk.

Woycenko discerned seven trends of varying strength among the Ukrainians in Canada. Of marginal significance only were the cantonization of Canada, the permanent immigrant attitude of the unwilling exile, and ethno-lingual and cultural apathy. Certain Ukrainian Canadians advocated total assimilation with the two founding races, particularly the English. Among the young the idea of "non-linguistic Ukrainianism" was gaining popularity as the mother tongue was considered dispensable to being Ukrainian. Other Ukrainian Canadians recommended that the Ukrainian language and culture be officially recognized in Canada along with those of other nationalities as the equal of the French and English. Finally, perhaps the most prevalent trend compounded political loyalty to Canada with ethnic loyalty to the group.[37] From these findings, Woycenko concluded: "Out of all those trends comes a surprising revelation--despite their differences, identity as a group is more pronounced than ever. The prevailing image of a dynamic and vocal body surpasses their boldest expectations."[38]

Nevertheless, it is becoming increasingly difficult to preserve that most important Ukrainian aspect--language--and ethnic alienation accompanies its loss. Ukrainian presentations to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism reflected the community's concern for

the future of the Ukrainian language in Canada. Woycenko contended that if cultural diversity is to be preserved in Canada, official support of languages other than French and English is mandatory. Yet certain weaknesses within the Ukrainian Canadian community itself jeopardize the survival of the Ukrainian cultural entity regardless of external influences. Too great an emphasis on mass action, shunning individual efforts and labelling a person an outsider unless identified with one or another faction, has lost to the community the services of many talented and competent people. Factionalism and rivalry have led to the dispersion of resources and duplication of efforts, while much energy has been expended on "ephemeral action" and little on lasting projects. Activity on behalf of Ukrainian liberation in Europe has also hurt the community, again through lack of co-ordination and regulation, especially in soliciting funds. Woycenko concluded her study thus:

> In summing up it can be stated that the perpetuation of Ukrainian cultural life in Canada is motivated by internal as well as external factors. If it is the will of Ukrainians to survive and develop as an ethno-cultural entity in Canada, the internal detrimental factors must be faced and resolved. On the other hand, if cultural diversity in the Canada of tomorrow is to prevail, it must be recognized by governments and encouraged by moral and material assistance.
>
> In both instances vision and leadership are needed.[39]

Woycenko has provided an admirable summary of Ukrainian Canadian achievements in various fields of endeavour and of the development of the Ukrainian Canadian community in 1967. She included her analysis of the present situation, taking into consideration the responsibilities of the Canadian government to the non-British and the non-French as well as the strengths and weaknesses of the Ukrainian group itself. As with other Ukrainian Canadian writers of her period, she stressed the concern

of the Ukrainian group for official recognition of their language and culture. Unlike Yuzyk in his centennial publication, however, which was in many respects idealistic and theoretical, she was considerably more realistic, chastizing the Ukrainian Canadian community for attitudes and actions which have hindered co-operation and co-ordination and hence effectiveness. Darcovich also noted dangers facing the continued existence of a distinct Ukrainian Canadian collectivity, but while he focused on external influences, Woycenko emphasized internal flaws within the Ukrainian Canadian community itself.

In 1969 Vilni Zemli/Free Lands: The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta by the popular historian, James G. MacGregor, was published. A provincial history like Yuzyk's The Ukrainians in Manitoba, it had a much narrower base and lacked the scholarly quality of Yuzyk's study. Adopting an unnecessarily flowery and descriptive writing style, MacGregor included imaginary conversations and delved into individuals' minds to determine their thoughts, attitudes, and reactions at a particular moment. This pseudo-novelistic approach he justified by claiming that his book was intended not only for the historian but also for the lay reader. Nevertheless, he has done the historian an injustice. Although Vilni Zemli included numerous quotes, the source is provided only occasionally, as the work lacks a bibliography, footnotes, and index. While MacGregor's facts may be historically accurate, these omissions reduce the value of Vilni Zemli as a history or source of information on early Ukrainian settlement in rural Alberta from the standpoint of the serious student of Ukrainian Canadian history. The book contains an abundance of anecdotes which bring the pioneering and immigrant experiences of the Ukrainians to the personal level but also tend to make the work more of a local history in character.

MacGregor focused on the Edna-Star settlement, the first Ukrainian colony and typical of those to be established later, and expansion physically outward from this nucleus. He opened with a graphic, chatty description of Ivan Pylypiw's Galician background, his 1891 journey to Canada with Wasyl Eleniak, his role in stimulating the immigration to Canada of the first group of Ukrainian settlers who subsequently arrived without him and founded the colony at Edna-Star, and eventually his own migration and settlement in the colony. He characterized Pylypiw as a "restless persuasive leader often acting before thinking"; alert and intelligent; and a visionary, recognizing the significance of the Ukrainians being on Alberta soil "in the beginning of things," but whose vision receded when he failed to lead the great colony that he had planned.

Outlining the initial hardships, progress, and reversals of fortune of the original Ukrainian immigrants in the vicinity of Edna-Star, including long passages on specific families as gleaned from memoirs and personal interviews, MacGregor also covered the physical expansion of the colony, its increasing general prosperity, and its growing identifiability as a structured community. He carried his account only into the 1920's where he continued to stress, in conclusion, material progress and the upward movement from illiterate peasants and second-class citizens into the professions and full-fledged citizenship.

MacGregor quoted extensively from the journal of Theodore Nemirsky, one of Oleskiw's immigrants who settled in Alberta. Nemirsky later achieved prominence as assistant inspector of Ruthenian schools in Alberta and Land Guide for the Dominion Land Office in Edmonton and was noted in Ukrainian circles for harboring Russophile sympathies and his

identification with the Russian Orthodox Church. This undoubtedly explains why MacGregor, in his lengthy discussion of the famous law suit between the Greek Catholic and Russian Orthodox factions over ownership and control of a church building originally erected near Star by the Greek Catholic community,[40] interpreted the situation, perhaps unknowingly, in Russian Orthodox terms.[41] He claimed that over half of the Ukrainians in Canada desired to return to their traditional form of worship, Orthodoxy, and implied that they were only too glad to repudiate Greek Catholicism, to which they "had been forced to adhere in Galicia."[42]. Clearly MacGregor was ignorant of the role of the Greek Catholic Church in Galician society in the late nineteenth century. MacGregor's outline of the religious controversy among the Ukrainians in Alberta in the first three decades of their settlement is an example of the superficial and misguided treatment of a complex subject by one who failed to understand or appreciate differences in attitudes, ideologies, conflicts, and factions that owed their origins to conditions in Ukrainian history and the contemporary situation in the Austrian Ukraine.[43]

Vilni Zemli is a commendable account of the Ukrainian settlement of Alberta in physical and material terms from the establishment of the first colony in 1892 through expansion outward from this nucleus in the subsequent three decades. Similarly, it outlines the acquisition of the features of a patterned and orderly community. Largely the story of the physical settling of the land and integration in concrete terms, there was no attempt to analyze the spiritual evolution of the Ukrainian community in this bloc or the different forces brought to bear upon it. Even religious developments, although recounted from the Russian

Orthodox point of view, concerned the factual and tangible. With the heavy reliance on a limited number of written memoirs and personal interviews and lengthy passages devoted to individual histories, Vilni Zemli has frequently emerged as a local history without greater orientation, perspective, or depth.

In 1970 a second history to be concerned with the Alberta Ukrainians, The Ukrainian Pioneers in Alberta, Canada, was published under the editorship of Joseph M. Lazarenko for the Ukrainian Pioneers Association in Edmonton. Largely a compilation of unrelated data and approximately ninety little-edited autobiographies and biographies of Ukrainian pioneers in Alberta, it was an amateur effort. The autobiographies and biographies varied greatly in length and quality although collectively they provided a composite picture of Ukrainian immigration, hardships, progress, and ambitions in the new country from various points of view. Information of an analytical and introspective nature is absent, probably because of the format of the original questionnaire. Those family histories included, however, convey the impression that while economic assimilation has been attained, social and religious associations have remained Ukrainian.

This section was accompanied by a collection of unconnected articles, speeches, and letters by different contributors. They included selections on education, Ukrainians in the Alberta legislature and federal parliament, the history behind the monument erected to the Ukrainian pioneers in Elk Island National Park in 1963, the Ukrainian press in Alberta, and excerpted references about the Ukrainians from the Vegreville Observer from 1907 to 1921. This final section is particularly interesting as one can discern changing attitudes over the

years. The newspaper supported the Ukrainians during World War I when they were regarded as enemy aliens, although remarks by some of its correspondents were bitter; and it included long lists of Ukrainian donations by village and school district to the Patriotic Fund. Written as it was to honor the Ukrainian pioneers, The Ukrainian Pioneers in Alberta, Canada was openly sympathetic to the Ukrainians, emphasized their progress in spite of great obstacles, and repeatedly referred to the prejudice that they encountered in exploring new fields.

One final study in English-language Ukrainian Canadian historiography merits scrutiny. In 1970 Michael H. Marunchak published The Ukrainian Canadians: A History, subsidized by the Centennial Commission as a contribution to the Centennial of Confederation. An English-language translation from Marunchak's Ukrainian-language works, The Ukrainian Canadians suffers, as poor editing resulted in numerous instances of grammatical mistakes, faulty sentence structure and word usage, meaningless phrases, typographical errors, double translation errors, and the inconsistent spelling of proper names. Nevertheless, Marunchak's work is a vast compendium of information encompassing all aspects of Ukrainian Canadian life. An excellent and well-illustrated reference book on the social, religious, cultural, educational, political, economic, and organizational life of the Ukrainians in Canada, it examined developments in three chronological periods. The Ukrainian Canadians is not an impartial study as Marunchak openly identified himself, as the author, with the Ukrainian community. The original Ukrainian text was necessarily intended not for a general audience but for the Ukrainian group itself. This explains Marunchak's stance although it does not exonerate the overly subjective tone of his work.

The first section of The Ukrainian Canadians examined Ukrainian immigration, settlement, and ensuing life in Canada through World War I. Marunchak discussed both physical distribution and economic developments in agriculture, the labor field, and eventually other pursuits and developments in the religious, educational, and cultural spheres. His own prejudices and bitterness against Anglo-Canadian treatment of the Ukrainian immigrants were not disguised. He repeatedly censured the Canadian government for failing to assist the Ukrainians financially and for forcing them to settle in specific areas, often on poor land. A chapter entitled "Welcome Newcomers and Racial Prejudice" continued Marunchak's criticism of Anglo-Saxon prejudice and his glowing praise of the Ukrainian's innate qualities that enabled him to surmount all barriers erected in front of him:

> The indisputable fact remains that there were long years of discrimination against Ukrainians in Canada, but they, with great stoicism, tolerated it individually and collectively, and simply ignored undeserved calumniation. Denying his personal "ego" the Ukrainian settler worked out his own destiny, building up his husbandry in step with the social life in different aspects. With his blistered and calloused hands in a copious rain of sweat, often at the cost of his health and life, the Ukrainian carried on and gained some prestige due him.[44]

Marunchak's stand on and interpretation of the bilingual schools question also illustrated his Ukrainian sympathies. Endorsing the bilingual program, he damned the Anglo-Canadian authorities for removing Ukrainian from the schools of Saskatchewan and Manitoba. Conversely, he labelled the oft-admired situation in Alberta as "unhealthy," one in which government pressure against bilingualism prevented the Ukrainian teachers from achieving their goals. Like other Ukrainian Canadian writers, Marunchak viewed the Ukrainian-English teachers as young idealists dedicated to the enlightenment of their people.

An examination of embryonic community life included developments in the religious sphere during the early years of religious chaos, the establishment of private educational institutions, cultural-educational work and organization on the local level across Canada, and initial ventures in literature, publications, and the press. In each instance the discussion was detailed. Recognizing an identifiable and motivated Ukrainian Canadian community prior to World War I, Marunchak related its continued association with the Ukrainian homeland and its activities on behalf of Ukrainian objectives in Europe and the Ukrainians in Canada during the years of the First World War. Written as it was from the Ukrainian point of view, The Ukrainian Canadians focused on the evolution of the Ukrainian Canadian collectivity. It stressed not integration into Canadian life so much as internal development. Recalling the exploratory writings of contemporary Anglo-Saxons on the pre-World War I Ukrainian immigrant settler and their emphasis on the illiterate peasant with his outlandish costume and strange customs, Marunchak's picture of a complex, directed and well-organized community illustrates the gulf of understanding that separated the Anglo-Saxon observer from the integral happenings in Ukrainian Canadian life.

Part Two of The Ukrainian Canadians considered the inter-war years, that period in Ukrainian Canadian life which witnessed not only the rise of dominion superstructures for Ukrainian Canadian organizations and increased differentiation within the community but also growing patriotism and greater integration into Canadian life as Canada came to be accepted as an adopted motherland. Marunchak examined in detail the characteristics of the inter-war Ukrainian immigration, the organization of Ukrainian Canadian bodies to facilitate this movement and aid

individuals, and new conflicts and organizations emerging from various different political groupings in the Ukraine. Political-ideological divisions characterized Ukrainian Canadian life between the two wars. Marunchak discussed individually the rise, development, goals, orientation, activities, and significant personnel of the various religious and political-cultural associations existing in Ukrainian Canadian society in the inter-war years. He also followed through developments in these years in the agricultural, political, educational, cultural, religious, literary and publishing fields. In all three periods, Marunchak devoted space to the communist-socialist sector of the Ukrainian Canadian community and dealt with it with considerable objectivity, more than, for example, Yuzyk had done in The Ukrainians in Manitoba. His inclusion of the Ukrainian Protestants also ensured that his study exceeded the "traditional" Ukrainian groups. Concern for the fate of the Ukraine in the 1920's and 1930's and support of an independent Carpatho-Ukraine in 1938-1939 united the Ukrainian Canadians on an increasingly national scale until the creation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee brought the second era to its summit.

The beginning of the third era of Ukrainian Canadian history, the era of consummation, coincided with the years of World War II which renewed Ukrainian Canadian patriotism for both Canada and the Ukraine. Marunchak discussed the role of the Ukrainian Canadians and their associations in facilitating the immigration to Canada of Ukrainian displaced persons, the social structure of that immigration, and its impact on the established Ukrainian Canadian community through the introduction of new political-cultural organizations, learned societies, and scholarly activity. Vertical and horizontal integration into Canadian

life on all levels proceeded in the years after World War II. On the other hand, gradual acceptance of the concept of multiculturalism permitted the re-introduction of the Ukrainian language into the public schools and paved the way for its entry into Canadian universities. Ukrainian scholars, writers and poets, artists, musicians and performers each made their contribution in both Ukrainian Canadian and Canadian spheres. Solicitude for the Ukrainian people in Europe continued as the Ukrainian Canadian community initiated the calling of a Pan-American Ukrainian Conference in 1967, which declared itself not only the cultural but also the political representative of the Ukrainians in the Americas, and of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians in 1967.

Apart from being an excellent reference work on developments, organizations, issues, publications, and individuals in Ukrainian Canadian life, The Ukrainian Canadians also commented on the role of the Ukrainian Canadians in Canadian society and as they influenced the concept of Canadian identity. Throughout his study, Marunchak emphasized the conscious duality of the Ukrainian Canadian community, a deliberate attempt to integrate into Canadian society while retaining its Ukrainian cultural identity and political concern for the Ukrainian homeland--an orientation he considered cultivated by Ukrainian Canadian leaders even during the pioneer era. Indeed, Marunchak, unlike other Ukrainian Canadian historians, the majority Canadian-born, has stressed the European orientation of the Ukrainian Canadian community over its involvement in Canadian affairs and illustrated how, in all three periods of Ukrainian Canadian development, the organization and composition of the Ukrainian Canadian community has been influenced by European Ukrainian trends and events and how it has reacted to these stimuli

through continued solicitude for the Ukrainian motherland. This European orientation and pronounced personal identification with the Ukrainian people and cause has undoubtedly determined Marunchak's attitude toward the relationship of the Ukrainian Canadian community with Canadian society in general. He opposed assimilation: "True enough, there were those who tried to lend to this assimilation the noble air of patriotism and Canadianization, but the new Canadians, especially the Ukrainians, who were putting a different content into Canadianization, saw this assimilation for what it was and called it 'degeneration.'"[45]

In spite of his faith in the Ukrainian Canadian community and government commitment to multiculturalism, Marunchak's prophecy for the future of the Ukrainian group in Canada was somewhat unrealistic:

> If we take into consideration the conscious striving of the active Ukrainian community to oppose the assimilation processes in the lingual and cultural field, and the honest conviction of the government circles that depriving the national entities of their language and cultural values only acts to the detriment of Canada, making it that much poorer in its spiritual content--gaining instead only groups of "cultured" nihilists--and finally seeing that the natural propelling force of every society renews itself at certain intervals in future generations, as shown by modern sociology, then we may assume that the assimilation processes of the Ukrainian community in Canada will hardly advance much further. On the contrary, all arguments point to the fact that in the sphere of language and culture a turn-about-face action, toward the past, is coming into its own. In evidence of this we have numerous publications on the occasion of the 75th Anniversary of the Ukrainian settlement in Canada and Canada's own Centennial celebration, amply proving that the past not only holds interest for the authors of history books but also for the whole society, especially the younger generation.[46]

Marunchak's optimistic belief that assimilation has few prospects among the Ukrainians in Canada is questionable, especially in light of the indifference of the great majority to Ukrainian concerns and of no further immigration from the Ukraine to replenish the Ukrainian Canadian community. He himself was forced to concede that this constituted a

major obstacle to future Ukrainian Canadian development.

In a final chapter Marunchak examined Ukrainian Canadian aspirations on the eve of the Canadian Centennial. Presentations to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism demonstrated the dual concern for the strengthening of Canadian unity and the opportunity for growth for the cultures of all nationalities in Canada, in the Ukrainian case intensified by the obligation to preserve that endangered in the Ukraine. Marunchak concluded his monumental history with a prophecy for a thriving future for the Ukrainian Canadian community:

> In general we must presume that the growth of the Ukrainian community (society) in Canada will continue, more or less, with the same accepted form of tendencies and ambitions as has been going on before. The Ukrainian Canadian society is a relatively young group, filled with zest for development and growth. The biggest impediment in the cultural development is the lack of the further influx of new immigrant forces, as well as the difficulty of keeping the physical ties with the culture of the motherland. The balancing medium in this case is the great psychological reaction arising, not only from the natural cultural sources, but also the continued trend of the political situation in the old country as well.[47]

In addition to a bibliography of English- and Ukrainian-language titles and a listing of the patrons of The Ukrainian Canadians: A History, Marunchak's study contained a detailed index arranged according to personal names; churches, parishes, church organizations; lay organizations and co-operatives; schools, education; the printed word; and geographical names of countries, places, etc. The index alone indicates the vast scope of The Ukrainian Canadians as a source of information on Ukrainian Canadian history during the eighty years of their residence in Canada.

In conclusion, a survey of the English-language literature on the Ukrainian Canadians from 1946 to 1970 amply illustrates the rapid growth and maturation of research in the field of Ukrainian Canadian studies

since World War II. Not only has greater attention been paid to the development of the Ukrainian group in Canada both as an identifiable collectivity and in terms of integration into Canadian society, but there has also been considerable attempt to define the role of the Ukrainian Canadians in molding and contributing to the Canadian identity and direction of Canadian development. Specialization in specific and narrowly defined areas of Ukrainian Canadian life has notably increased, resulting in a more comprehensive view of Ukrainian Canadian history on various levels. This type of research will undoubtedly continue. The number of general volumes devoted to Ukrainian Canadian history has also increased, indicating a healthy and widespread interest in the Ukrainian Canadians.

What is still needed is greater examination of specific issues in Ukrainian Canadian development, more scholarly debate among contemporary Ukrainian Canadian historians, the exchange of ideas between Anglo-Saxon and Ukrainian historians to modify views within both groups, and greater analysis and introspection into developments to determine underlying motives and attitudes. The injection of new insights would not be damaging. To date there has been little large-scale and analytical examination of selected events or significant issues. The shorter works have examined certain phenomena to some extent but published monographs have thus far, with the exception of Kaye's Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, concentrated on providing overall accounts of Ukrainian Canadian development and neglected in-depth study of isolated phenomena.

FOOTNOTES

[1]André Laurandeau died on June 1, 1968, and was replaced by Jean-Louis Gagnon as co-chairman with Davidson Dunton.

[2]Elizabeth D. Wangenheim, "The Ukrainians: A Case Study of the 'Third Force'," in Nationalism in Canada, ed. by Peter Russell (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Company of Canada Limited, 1966), p. 73.

[3]Ibid., p. 83.

[4]Ibid., p. 90.

[5]See also V. J. Kaye, "Dr. Joseph Oleskow's Visit of Canada, August-October, 1895," Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, Vol. XXXII (January-March, 1962), pp. 30-40.

[6]Pro vil'ni zemli ("About Free Lands") was published in L'viv in 1895 prior to Oleskiw's visit to Canada and written to dissuade prospective Ukrainian immigrants from seeking haven in Brazil and to persuade them to choose Canada. Intended as a guide to potential immigrants, the pamphlet provided an accurate description of conditions in Canada--climate, size, population, government, schools--based on information solicited from the Canadian government. Oleskiw promised a more detailed report on his return from his inspection tour. This was subsequently contained in his second pamphlet, O emigratsii ("About Emigration"), published on his return to Galicia.

[7]As it was, Canadian government officials noted the difference between those immigrants selected by Oleskiw, immigrating with some money, and those procured by steamship agents in Europe, often arriving destitute.

[8]Vladimir J. Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895-1900: Dr. Josef Oleskow's Role in the Settlement of the Canadian Northwest, with a Foreword by George W. Simpson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1964), p. 131.

[9]For example, see Ibid., pp. 278-317, regarding the establishment of the colonies in the Yorkton and Rosthern regions. While the government strove to settle the Ukrainians at sites that it had selected, it also at times provided for the erection of the first hut, the breaking of a few acres, and outside work for the Ukrainians.

[10]Ibid., p. 376.

[11]Volume III of Slavs in Canada was not published until 1971 and hence lies outside the scope of this survey. It contained two articles on the Ukrainian Canadians: "Ethnic Identification and Attitudes of University Students of Ukrainian Descent" by Bohdan Bociurkiw and "Languages in Conflict: Ukrainian and English" by E. N. Burstynsky.

[12]The representatives from Nebyliw stressed the contrast between the conditions that forced the residents of Nebyliw to emigrate and the contemporary favorable situation in Nebyliw under and due to Soviet rule.

[13]Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and Workers' Benevolent Association of Canada, Tribute to our Ukrainian Pioneers in Canada's First Century, p. 48.

[14]Ibid., p. 73.

[15]Wasyl Veryha, "The Ukrainian Canadian Committee: Its Origin and War Activity" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1967), pp. xv-xvi.

[16]William Darcovich, Ukrainians in Canada: The Struggle to Retain their Identity (Ottawa: Ukrainian Self-Reliance Association, Ottawa Branch, 1967), p. iii.

[17]Ibid., p. 38.

[18]Yuzyk maintained his anti-Communist bias of The Ukrainians in Manitoba: "Fortunately, the communist movement has declined rapidly after the last war, thanks to work of the loyal Ukrainian organizations, particularly the Ukrainian National Federation and the co-ordinating body, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. The communist movement among the Ukrainian Canadians is relatively very weak today, but must be watched as it operates under innocent-sounding names." Paul Yuzyk, Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life (Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Business and Professional Federation, 1967), pp. 43-44.

[19]Ibid., p. 47.

[20]Ibid., p. 51.

[21]Ibid., pp. 89-90.

[22]See Ibid., p. 91.

[23]Ibid., p. 92.

[24]See also Paul Yuzyk, "75th Anniversary of Ukrainian Settlement in Canada," Ukrainian Review, Vol. XIV, No. 1 (Spring, 1967), pp. 81-86, which stressed Ukrainian success in agriculture and politics through the inevitable name-dropping and enumeration of "firsts" in both fields, Ukrainian Canadian service to the adopted country during two world wars, and the Ukrainian Canadian cultural contribution. Yuzyk's final section on the mission of the Ukrainian Canadians reiterated his message in Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life.

[25]Other volumes in the series examined the Indians and Eskimos, Icelanders, Germans, Lithuanians, Italians, Poles and Japanese.

[26]Ol'ha Woycenko, The Ukrainians in Canada, with a Foreword by John Fisher, Commissioner, Centennial Commission, and Charles E. Dojack, President, Canada Ethnic Press Federation (Winnipeg: Trident Press Ltd., 1967), pp. xiv-xv. See also Ol'ha Woycenko, Canada's Cultural Heritage: Ukrainian Contribution, originally delivered as an address to a symposium on Canada's Cultural Heritage at the Annual Meeting of the Provincial Council of Women, Winnipeg, November 14-15, 1963 (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, Litopys #22, 1964), pp. 16, and Ol'ha Woycenko, "Ukrainian Contribution to Canada's Cultural Life. Report Presented to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism" (Winnipeg, October, 1965), pp. 116, for similar treatment of Ukrainian Canadian life but with emphasis on the Ukrainian cultural contribution to Canada materially, socially, and spiritually. The organization of Woycenko's presentation to the Royal Commission approximated that of The Ukrainians in Canada although restricted primarily to cultural, religious, educational and individual contributions to Canada.

[27]It is interesting to recall that the major Anglo-Saxon works to examine the Ukrainian Canadians stressed such attributes, although their emphasis, like that of Ukrainian Canadian historians, tended to be one-sided.

[28]The members of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in Canada faced this question in initially determining what constituted the "cultural contribution of the other ethnic groups" and concluded that final answers had not been found. See Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Vol. IV: The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), Foreword.

[29]Woycenko, The Ukrainians in Canada, p. 66.

[30]Woycenko introduced an interesting concept into Ukrainian Canadian religious history. Stating that Ukrainian fear of Latinization

from the Roman Catholic Church in the early years of Ukrainian settlement under predominantly French missionaries was one factor behind the establishment of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, she proposed that these experiences and fears were responsible for the negative attitude of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church to the French Canadians and the Quiet Revolution in Quebec, labelling it a Catholic movement. The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, however, tends to be sympathetic to the French Canadian element. See Ibid., p. 84.

[31] Ibid., p. 86.

[32] To illustrate her point, Woycenko cited W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 311.

[33] Woycenko, The Ukrainians in Canada, pp. 92-93. In The Ukrainians in Manitoba (p. 145) Yuzyk had stated: "In the early period the Ukrainians themselves were in many instances opposed to English schools and English teachers, on the ground that these were instruments of assimilation employed to wipe out their nationality and culture." How Woycenko could justify her own criticism in light of the Ukrainian opposition to English teachers as recorded, for example, in the Annual Reports of the Department of Education in Alberta, where bilingualism was not introduced, is not stated.

[34] Here Woycenko criticized Yuzyk's account in The Ukrainians in Manitoba of inter-war developments in the political affiliations of the Ukrainian Canadians for his failure to note that the Ukrainian National Federation was a Canadian branch of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. See Woycenko, The Ukrainians in Canada, p. 200. Yuzyk was among the founders of the youth sector of the Ukrainian National Federation, and in light of its later embarrassment suffered for its pro-fascist and pro-Hitler stance until the outbreak of World War II, probably omitted mention of the connection. See Watson Kirkconnell, Canada, Europe, and Hitler (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1939), pp. 142-144, for a discussion of the position of the Ukrainian National Federation on the eve of World War II.

[35] The constitution of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee decrees that executive positions to the Presidium are to be delegated not according to democratic election on merit but according to representation of the major member organizations.

[36] Woycenko, The Ukrainians in Canada, pp. 214-215.

[37] Ibid., pp. 218-219.

[38] Ibid., p. 219.

[39] Ibid., p. 222.

[40]In 1904 Justice Scott handed down his decision in favor of the Greek Catholic supporters. It was upheld in 1905 by the Supreme Court of the North-West Territories. In 1906, however, the Supreme Court of Canada awarded the Russian Orthodox faction the property and in 1907 the Lords of the Privy Council passed final judgment in favor of the Russian Orthodox.

[41]Only in the second-to-last chapter did MacGregor admit that "to some extent the entries in his [Nemirsky's] journal must be considered as presenting only one side of the story." Even then, however, he did not acknowledge that his earlier account of developments, based on Nemirsky's journal, would have been similarly biased. See MacGregor, Vilni Zemli, p. 248.

[42]Ibid., p. 169.

[43]See also p. 130, footnote #18, regarding MacGregor's confused account of contemporary economic and social conditions in Galicia.

[44]Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians, p. 77.

[45]Ibid., p. 716.

[46]Ibid., p. 721.

[47]Ibid., p. 730.

CONCLUSION

During the past seventy years, English-language literature on the Ukrainians in Canada has reflected the evolving concept of the Canadian identity and nature of Canadian nationhood as it considered the impact of the non-British and non-French on Canadian life. The major studies have assessed the Ukrainian Canadians progressively in terms of Anglo-conformity and assimilation, the "melting pot" and the "mosaic," and the current definition of "Canadian" as multiculturalism in a bilingual framework. These themes have consistently determined the orientation of English-language works on the Ukrainians in Canada, although recently, under primarily Ukrainian Canadian historians, research has been conducted into particular aspects of Ukrainian Canadian development without concern for these larger questions. The emphasis on a general review of Ukrainian Canadian history, relating it to Canadian objectives and development, still persists, but serious scholarship and increased specialization in the study of the Ukrainians in Canada have added repute and credibility to Ukrainian Canadian historiography. The time is opportune for greater in-depth study and analysis of individual issues, episodes, and persons in Ukrainian Canadian history as distinct and significant in themselves.

In the early years of Ukrainian life in Canada Ukrainian blocs were physically well defined, and Ukrainian Canadian history largely and understandably corresponded to the general economic, political, cultural, and educational development of these districts. The organized

Ukrainian community, reflecting European-Ukrainian associations and movements, was only one facet of Ukrainian life in these areas. However, with increasing Ukrainian political, economic, and social integration, and the almost complete assimilation of the majority of Ukrainian Canadians into the Canadian cultural pattern, the history of most Ukrainian Canadians becomes no different from that of any other people in Canada. Consequently, historical research into the economic, political, and social development of Ukrainian Canadians, while remaining valid for the early decades of Ukrainian life in Canada, loses significance as a continuing fruitful field of activity with assimilation and integration on a large scale. Simultaneously, that into organized community life grows in importance.

In the future the question of what constitutes Ukrainian Canadian history will demand searching examination and an answer. Is a Canadian of Ukrainian descent who achieves fame as a hockey superstar, as a geophysicist, as a world wheat champion, or as a pianist significant to Ukrainian Canadian history, beyond indicating integration, if his contacts with things Ukrainian are minimal or absent? Does Ukrainian origin or a Ukrainian name necessarily mean that an individual's accomplishments illustrate the success and progress of the entire ethnic group when his cultural, social, and religious associations are those of the larger Canadian society? Is he making a distinctly Ukrainian Canadian contribution to Canadian life? On the other hand, can Ukrainian Canadian historiography be legitimately limited to the organized community?

These and other problems require greater analysis as integration and intermarriage continue to claim the Ukrainian Canadians, and active

propagation of Ukrainian cultural traditions, concern for the fate of the Ukrainian nation in Europe, and promotion of the Ukrainian language and culture in Canada is reserved for a narrowing sector of the ethnic group, those consciously identified with the organized Ukrainian Canadian community. Present trends would suggest that Ukrainian Canadian historiography in the future will focus on this minority as both the guardian and visible manifestation of a specifically Ukrainian Canadian society within the Canadian framework.

This is not to intimate, however, that Ukrainian Canadian historiography faces bleak prospects. Interest in the development of the Ukrainians in Canada is healthy and research is being undertaken with ever-broadening horizons. Ukrainian Canadian historiography is a firmly established discipline, with works in languages other than Ukrainian and English and publications outside Canada to attest to its existence beyond ethnic or national confines. Lastly, its activity is illustrative of contemporary work in the realm of social and intellectual history in Canada in general.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTE

In a thesis of this nature it is insufficient to examine individual contributions to the literature on the Ukrainians in Canada divorced from the background and outlook of the author. Knowledge of a particular author is not essential to analyze or judge his work as a component of English-language Ukrainian Canadian historiography but it is helpful. It can clarify why a person was prompted to write on the Ukrainians in the first instance and why he adopted a certain bias toward them. An individual's qualifications, both academic and otherwise, to write authoritatively on the Ukrainians in Canada increase or decrease his credibility as a commentator on or interpreter of Ukrainian Canadian development. Acquaintance with his other activities also places his interest in the Ukrainian Canadians into perspective.

With these factors in mind, the bibliography has been arranged so as to furnish a brief biographical note on an author following the bibliographic citation of his work. Where applicable, for those individuals on whom information was available, the source has been indicated. The bibliography itself has been organized chronologically to correspond with the chapter divisions in the text of the thesis. Within this framework works have been grouped according to genre and entries made simply alphabetically by author.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. 1896 -- 1918

Books and Pamphlets

Anderson, James T.M. The Education of the New Canadian: A Treatise on Canada's Greatest Educational Problem., London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1918. Pp. 271.

Ontario-born James Thomas Milton Anderson (1878-1946) received his B.A. in 1911, his LL.B. in 1913, and his M.A. in 1914 all from the University of Manitoba. In 1918 he was granted a D. Paed. from the University of Toronto. Inspector of Schools at Yorkton, Saskatchewan, at the time of writing The Education of the New Canadian, he was appointed Director of Education for New Canadians in Saskatchewan in 1918. Chosen leader of the Saskatchewan Conservative Party in 1924, Anderson was elected to the provincial legislature in 1925 and from 1929 to 1934 served as premier of Saskatchewan. In his later years he was Superintendent for the School of the Deaf in Saskatoon.

Source: W. Stewart Wallace, ed., The Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography (3rd ed., revised and enlarged; Toronto: Macmillan, 1963), p. 13.

Brooke, Rupert. Letters from America. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916. Chapter X: "Outside." Pp. 111-120.

Rupert Brooke (1887-1915), an English poet, undertook a year's journey to Canada, the United States, and the South Seas in 1913. The first thirteen chapters of Letters from America were originally written for the Westminster Gazette while the remaining two appeared in the New Statesman shortly after the outbreak of war. With little editing, the collection was republished posthumously in Letters from America.

Cameron, Agnes Deans. The New North: Being Some Account of a Woman's Journey Through Canada to the Arctic. New York and London: D. Appleton and Company, 1910. Chapter II: "Winnipeg to Athabasca Landing." Pp. 19-32.

Agnes Deans Cameron (1863-1912), educationalist and writer, taught for eighteen years in British Columbia schools, also being elected school trustee for Victoria in 1906. In 1908 she embarked on a 10,000-mile journey from Chicago to the Arctic Ocean via Athabasca, Great Slave Lake and the Mackenzie

River and returning by way of the Peace River and Lesser Slave Lake. Cameron recorded her trip in The New North. Pride in her British ancestry is evident.

Source: Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, p. 103.

Connor, Ralph [Charles W. Gordon.] The Foreigner: A Tale of Saskatchewan. Toronto: Westminster Company, Limited, 1909. Pp. 384.

The Reverend Charles William Gordon (1860-1937) was educated in his native Ontario, receiving his B.A. from the University of Toronto in 1883 and his D.D. from Knox College (Toronto) in 1906. He was ordained into the ministry of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1890. Following three years of service as a missionary to miners and lumbermen in the N.W.T., he went as pastor to St. Stephen's Presbyterian Church in central Winnipeg in 1894, remaining there until his death. During World War I Gordon was a chaplain in the Canadian Expeditionary Force and in 1922 was elected moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. He became a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada in 1904 and in 1935 was awarded the C.M.G. Under the pseudonym of Ralph Connor, he achieved great popularity as a novelist utilizing Ontarian and Western Canadian themes.

Source: Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, pp. 270-271.

Delaere, Reverend Father Achilles. Memorandum on the Attempts of Schism and Heresy Among the Ruthenians (commonly called "Galicians") in the Canadian Northwest. Winnipeg: West Canada Publishing Company, Limited, 1909. Pp. 42.

The Belgian Redemptorist Achilles Delaere (1868-1939) emigrated to Canada in 1899 to serve the spiritually [illegible]derless Ukrainian Greek Catholics. He established a mission at Yorkton, Saskatchewan. Active in obtaining a Greek Catholic bishop for the Ukrainians in Canada, Delaere eventually received permission to transfer personally from the Latin to the Eastern Ruthenian rite. So impressed with his work among the Ukrainians was the Ukrainian Metropolitan of L'viv, Count Andriy Sheptytsky, on his visit to Canada in 1910 that on his return to Galicia he founded an Eastern-rite branch of the Congregation of Our Most Holy Redeemer.

Source: George W. Simpson, "Father Delaere, Pioneer Missionary and Founder of Churches," Saskatchewan History Vol. III, No. 1 (Winter, 1950), pp. 1-16.

Fraser, John Foster. Canada As It Is. 2nd ed. London, New York, Toronto, and Melbourne: Cassell and Company, Limited, 1911. Chapter IX: "Winnipeg: The City of the Plains." Pp. 100-113; Chapter XII: "The North-Wester: A Britisher with all the Improvements." Pp. 141-152.

An Englishman, John Foster Fraser toured Canada for the purpose

of seeing what it was, who its people were, and where it was headed. From his observations and conversations with residents of the country he drew his conclusions. The first edition of Canada As It Is was published in 1905.

Kennedy, Howard Angus. New Canada and the New Canadians. With a Preface by Lord Strathcona. London: Horace Marshall & Son, 1907. Chapter VI: "Middle Alberta; and the Galicians." Pp. 123-130.

Journalist and author, Howard Angus Kennedy (1861-1938) emigrated to Canada from England in 1881. On the staff of the Montreal Daily Witness from 1881 to 1890, he was its war correspondent during the Second Riel Rebellion. In 1890 Kennedy returned to England but visited Canada periodically until 1912 when he settled here permanently, working for the remainder of his life as a free lance journalist. New Canada and the New Canadians emerged from a 1905 tour of Western Canada to ascertain changes since 1885. From 1929 until his death, Kennedy was the national secretary of the Canadian Authors' Association.

Source: Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, p. 362.

McEvoy, Bernard. From the Great Lakes to the Wide West: Impressions of a Tour Between Toronto and the Pacific. London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company, Limited, 1902. Chapter VII: "First Impressions of Winnipeg." Pp. 65-74; Chapter X: "Edmonton and the North Country." Pp. 100-113.

Bernard McEvoy (1842-1932), journalist and author, came to Canada to the Toronto Mail and Empire in 1888 from his native England. From the Great Lakes to the Wide West consisted of descriptive letters originally written for the Mail and Empire while journeying through Western Canada. In 1901 McEvoy transferred to the Vancouver Province.

Source: Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, p. 450.

Oliver, Edmund H. The Country School in Non-English Speaking Communities in Saskatchewan. Originally delivered as an address to the Saskatchewan Public Education League, September 22, 1915, and subsequently published in pamphlet form. Pp. 18.

Edmund H. Oliver (1882-1935) was a lecturer in history at McMaster University from 1905 to 1909 when he became a professor of history and economics at the University of Saskatchewan. From 1914 until his death he served as principal of St. Andrew's College, Saskatoon. He was elected moderator of the United Church of Canada in 1932. As a writer Oliver published several books on the history of Western Canada and the role of the church in its development.

Source: MacMillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, pp. 562-563.

Presbyterian Church in Canada. The Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. 1898-1925.

Sherbinin, Michael A. The Galicians Dwelling in Canada and their Origin. Winnipeg: Manitoba Free Press Company, 1906. Pp. 12. Originally presented as a paper to the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba and subsequently published as Transaction No. 71 of the Society.

Michael A. Sherbinin, a Russian convert to Presbyterianism and graduate of St. Petersburg University, initially served as a Presbyterian missionary among the Doukhobors at Rosthern, Saskatchewan. He was later engaged by Manitoba College as an instructor for Ruthenian youths anxious to enter either the ministry or teaching profession. With Ivan Bodrug he compiled Handbook of the Ruthenian Language (Galician) being also a Handbook of English for the Ruthenians. Winnipeg: Canada Northwest Publishing Company, 1905.

Woodsworth, James S. Strangers Within our Gates or Coming Canadians. With an Introduction by J. W. Sparling. Toronto: Young People's Forward Movement Department of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1909. Pp. 331.

James Shaver Woodsworth (1874-1942) received his B.A. from the University of Manitoba in 1896 and his B.D. from Victoria University (Toronto) in 1900. He was ordained into the ministry of the Methodist Church in 1896 and spent several years in pastoral service, particularly in Winnipeg, where he developed an interest in social welfare work. Woodsworth's second book, My Neighbor: A Study of City Conditions: A Plea for Social Service (Toronto: Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1911), pp. 341, was written openly from the viewpoint of the social worker, stressing man's social responsibility to his fellowman, but without the emphasis on race, creed, or color prominent in Strangers Within our Gates. In 1919 he was implicated in the Winnipeg General Strike but charges of sedition were later withdrawn. Elected Labor Member of Parliament for North Winnipeg in 1921, he represented that constituency until his death. In 1932 Woodsworth became chairman of the national council of the Co-operative Commonweath Federation and the parliamentary leader of the new party.
Source: Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, p. 813.

Yeigh, Frank. Through the Heart of Canada. Toronto: Henry Frowde, 1911. Chapter X: "The Foreigner in Canada." Pp. 176-192.

Frank Yeigh (1861-1935) was educated in his native Ontario, where he was later employed in the civil service. In 1908 he left the civil service for lecturing, journalism, and social service. Through the Heart of Canada was the product of a tour of the country.
Source: Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, p. 817.

Articles

Canuck, Janey [Emily Murphy.] "Communing With Ruthenians." Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature, Vol. XL (March, 1913), pp. 403-410. Essentially the same article constituted Chapter XIX, pp. 212-223, in Janey Canuck. Seeds of Pine. London, New York and Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton, 1914.

Emily Cowan Murphy (1868-1933) came to Western Canada with her husband, the Reverend Arthur Murphy, in 1904. An important figure in philanthropic and humanitarian affairs in Alberta, she was eventually appointed judge of the Juvenile Court in Edmonton. In 1925 Murphy became the official visitor of jails and mental hospitals in Alberta. Under the pen name of Janey Canuck, she wrote several books, primarily drawing on personal experiences.

Source: Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, p. 539.

Chipman, George Fisher. "Winnipeg: The Melting Pot." Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature, Vol. XXXIII (1909), pp. 412-416.

George Fisher Chipman graduated from Truro Normal School, Nova Scotia, in 1900, after which he taught for some years in rural Alberta among many different nationalities.

Source: Provincial Archives of Alberta, Acc. 69.152.

d'Easum, Basil C. "A Galician Wedding." Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature, Vol. XIII (1899), pp. 83-84.

No information was available on Basil C. d'Easum, but an Anglican minister, the Reverend Geoffrey C. d'Easum, was engaged as a missionary in northern Alberta, incumbent in Fort Saskatchewan, and rural dean in Edmonton in the period under discussion. That a relationship existed between the two men is highly probable.

Source: Provincial Archives of Alberta, Information File.

Elston, Miriam. "The Canadian Slav and the War." Graphic (1917), n.p.

Miriam Elston (1874-1974) came to Alberta from her native Ontario in 1908. She became noted as a journalist, particularly for her articles on the Ukrainian colony east of Edmonton, where she taught in the years prior to World War I. Elston planned to publish a book on the Ukrainians but the paper shortage after 1914 forced her to abandon the project although she continued to write abbreviated sketches based on personal contact and experience. In the inter-war years she and her sister operated a millinery shop in Edmonton and to 1939 she taught millinery and dressmaking at the Edmonton Technical School. Copies of Elston's articles on the

Ukrainians are held by the Provincial Archives of Alberta (Acc. 65.55). Frequently, no page number or date of publication is evident.

Source: Provincial Archives of Alberta, Acc. 65.55 and Information File.

_____. "English Schools for Foreigners in Alberta." Westminster (n.d., circa 1916), pp. 425-432.

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_____. "Making Ruthenians into Canadians: An Interesting Experiment in Education." Graphic (April 4, 1914), n.p.

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_____. "Our Little Russian Brother." Christian Guardian (1916), n.p. Reprinted in Gillese, John Patrick, editor-in-chief. Chinook Arch: A Centennial Anthology of Alberta Writing. Edmonton: Queen's Printer for the Government of the Province of Alberta, 1967, pp. 46-54.

_____. "The Russian in our Midst." Westminster (1915), pp. 530-536.

_____. "A Russian Wedding in Alberta." East and West (March 18, 1916), p. 93.

_____. "A Ruthenian Day of Days: When the Albertan Colony, who ten years ago were known as 'Sifton's sheepskins,' Consecrated a Greek Church in the Name of Civilization." Canadian Courier (n.d.), pp. 12-13. With minor changes, essentially the same article also appeared in the London Graphic as "The Ruthenian Invaders of Alberta."

Hardy, J. H. "The Ruthenians in Alberta," Onward (November 1, 1913), pp. 346-347.

It can be assumed from the tenor of his article that Hardy was one of the school teachers involved in the education of the Ukrainian immigrants.

Woodsworth, J. S. "Nation Building." University Magazine, Vol. XIII (February, 1917), pp. 85-99.

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Woodsworth, James S., director. "Ukrainian Rural Communities." Report of an Investigation by the Bureau of Social Research, Governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. Winnipeg, January 25, 1917. Pp. 157.

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Manitoba. Department of Education. Annual Reports 1896-1920. Winnipeg: Government Printer, 1897-1921.

Saskatchewan. Department of Education. Annual Reports 1906-1920. Regina: Government Printer, 1907-1921.

II. 1919 -- 1945

Books and Pamphlets

Bryce, Peter Henderson. The Value to Canada of the Continental Immigrant. Ottawa, 1928. Pp. 56.

Peter Henderson Bryce attended the University of Toronto where he received the Gold Medal in Science and graduated at the head of the Medical College. He also studied at the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons in Edinburgh. As Secretary of the Provincial Board of Health in Ontario, he built up its Public Health Service and was responsible for drafting the Public Health Act of 1884. In 1904 Bryce went to Ottawa to organize the Medical Service of the Federal Department of Immigration. He was its Chief Medical Officer for nearly twenty years at the peak of the mass European immigration to Canada. With legal assistance, Bryce drafted the 1906 Immigration Act.

Catholic Truth Society of Canada. Vindication of Bishop Budka: Full Record of Investigation: A String of Unfounded Charges: Judge Paterson's Summary. Toronto: Catholic Truth Society of Canada, 1919. Pp. 6.

Civil Liberties Association of Toronto. An Appeal for Justice: The Case of the Seized Properties of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association. Toronto: Civil Liberties Association of Toronto, 1944. Pp. 34.

Cormie, Rev. John A. Canada and the New Canadians. Toronto: Social Service Council of Canada, December, 1931. Pp. 30.

At the time of writing Canada and the New Canadians, the Reverend John A. Cormie was Superintendent of Home Missions of the United Church of Canada in Manitoba.

Culbertson, Ely. The Strange Lives of One Man: An Autobiography. Chicago, Philadelphia, and Toronto: John C. Winston Company, 1940.

Ely Culbertson claimed that his mother was the "daughter of a Cossack chief," which undoubtedly explains why, in spite of his American background, he was sympathetic to the Ukrainian laborers he encountered in Canada and voluntarily acted as their patron against exploitation.

Davies, Raymond Arthur [Rudolf Shohan.] This is Our Land: Ukrainian Canadians Against Hitler. Toronto: Progress Books, 1943. Pp. 158.

A Leftist journalist and author during World War II under the pseudonym of Raymond Arthur Davies, Rudolf Shohan (1908-) has continued to publish works voicing a Communist point of view. He has also carved a niche for himself as a book importer and exporter specializing in Soviet and East European publications.

England, Robert. The Central European Immigrant in Canada. With a Foreword by Geo. M. Weir, Grand Master of the Masonic Grand Lodge of Saskatchewan. Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, Limited, 1929. Pp. 238.

Awarded a scholarship by the Province of Saskatchewan, Robert England (1894-) pursued his examination of the assimilation problem at the College Libre des Sciences Sociales in Paris. His many years service as the Continental Superintendent of the Colonization Department of the CNR kept him attuned to the practicalities of immigration.

_____. The Colonization of Western Canada: A Study of Contemporary Land Settlement (1896-1934). London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 1936. Pp. 341.

Foster, Kate A. Our Canadian Mosaic. With a Foreword by James H. Coyne, President of the Royal Society of Canada. Toronto: Dominion Council of the Y.W.C.A., 1926. Pp. 150.

Gibbon, John Murray. Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Northern Nation. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Limited, 1938. Pp. 455.

John Murray Gibbon (1875-1952), educated at Oxford, worked as a journalist in London until 1907 when he was invited to supervise the European publicity work of the Canadian Pacific Railway. In 1913 he emigrated to Canada to become general

publicity agent for the railway, holding this position until retirement in 1945. Organizer of the New Canadian folk festivals across Canada and publisher of numerous articles on the folk heritages of Canadians, Gibbon also translated and adapted folk songs to the Canadian environment. Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Northern Nation received the Governor-General's Award. Gibbon was the founder and first president of the Canadian Authors' Association and in 1922 was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada.

Source: Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, p. 263.

Grocholski, J. S. W., ed. Preliminary Survey on Integration of the Canadian Racial, Cultural and Nationality Groups from the Standpoint of Canadians of Various Origins other than British or French. Private printing, limited edition. Toronto: Canadians All Research Division, 1944. Pp. 31.

Hayward, Victoria. Romantic Canada. Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, Ltd., 1922.

Romantic Canada emerged from a journey across Canada undertaken by Victoria Hayward in company with Edith Watson. John Murray Gibbon has accredited Hayward with first use of the term "mosaic" in her book. References to the Ukrainians were fleeting but contributed to a picturesque and visionary scene of Canada and her future.

Hunchak, Nicholas J. Canadians of Ukrainian Origin: Population. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1945. Pp. 164.

Nicholas J. Hunchak was a graduate of the University of Saskatchewan, possessing both a B.Sc. and a B.Acc., and at the time of writing Canadians of Ukrainian Origin: Population was employed in Winnipeg as an accountant.

Hunter, Alexander Jardine. A Friendly Adventure: The Story of the United Church Mission Among New Canadians at Teulon, Manitoba. Toronto: Committee on Literature, General Publicity and Missionary Education of the United Church of Canada for the Board of Home Missions of the United Church of Canada, 1929. Pp. 132.

Alexander Jardine Hunter (1868-1940), M.D., D.D., arrived in Winnipeg in 1902 to serve the Home Mission Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. He was sent to Teulon, Manitoba, where he established a mission, later expanded to include a hospital and boys' and girls' residential schools. He remained for many years, becoming intensely interested in the heritage of the Ukrainian people. Hunter was awarded the Order of the British Empire for his work among the Ukrainians in Canada.

Hutchison, Bruce. The Unknown Country: Canada and her People. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1942. Chapter XIV: "The Men in Sheepskin Coats." Pp. 272-288.

A Canadian political reporter and journalist, Bruce Hutchison wrote The Unknown Country to provide the stranger with a general glimpse of the surface of Canada, her people, problems, history, and future. His image of the Ukrainians was predominantly that of the peasant stereotype, descriptive, and visual. He revealed a curious mixture of assimilation and the "mosaic" in his chapter "The Men in Sheepskin Coats."

Kennedy, Howard Angus. The Book of the West. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1925. Chapter XII: "Learning to be Canadians." Pp. 141-150.

Kirkconnell, Watson. Canada, Europe, and Hitler. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1939. Pp. 213.

Watson Kirkconnell (1895-) received his education at Queen's University and Oxford. He taught English and classics at Wesley College, Winnipeg, from 1940 to 1948 served as head of the English Department at McMaster University, and in 1948 became president of Acadia University. He retired in 1963. During World War I he had been an officer under the Federal Department of Justice responsible for interned aliens. Kirkconnell was elected to the Royal Society of Canada in 1936 and was awarded the Lorne Pierce Medal for his outstanding contribution to Canadian literature. A noted linguist and scholar, he included the history and literature of the Ukrainian Canadians among his interests and literary pursuits. With C. H. Andrusyshen he translated two voluminous works, The Poetical Works of Taras Shevchenko (1963) and The Ukrainian Poets (1963).

Source: Nora Story, Oxford Companion to Canadian History and Literature (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 406.

_____. Canadian Overtones. Winnipeg: Columbia Press, Limited, 1935. Pp. 104.

_____. Canadians All: A Primer of Canadian National Unity. Ottawa: Issued by the Director of Public Information under authority of the Minister of National War Services, June, 1941. Pp. 48.

_____. Our Communists and the New Canadians. Originally delivered as an address before a meeting of the Canadian Club at Toronto, February 1, 1943, and later published in pamphlet form. Pp. 24.

_____. Our Ukrainian Loyalists: The Ukrainian Canadian Committee. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1943. Pp. 28.

_____. The Ukrainian Canadians and the War. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1940. Pp. 30.

McClung, Nellie L. The Stream Runs Fast: My Own Story. Toronto: Thomas Allen Limited, 1945. Chapter XIX: "New Places and New People." Pp. 153-169.

Nellie McClung (1873-1951) was a noted champion of women's rights and from 1921 to 1926 sat as a Liberal member of the Alberta Legislature. She had numerous publications to her credit, of which The Stream Runs Fast was a sequel to an earlier autobiographical work, Clearing in the West. In The Stream Runs Fast she described the work of the Methodist mission among the Ukrainians at Pakan, Alberta.

Source: MacMillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, p. 432.

Methodius, Brother S. Canadians on the March. Incorporating the first in the series of radio broadcasts over CJGX under the title, "Canada United." Yorkton: Ukrainian Canadian Cultural Group, 1944. Pp. 52.

Brother Methodius (born Basil Koziak, 1904) was the first Ukrainian Greek Catholic to become a Brother of the Christian Schools (F.S.C.) with permission to retain his Eastern rite. President of the Ukrainian Canadian Cultural Group of Yorkton at the time of publishing Canadians on the March, he has served as director of the Taras Shevchenko Institute, Edmonton, St. Joseph's College, Yorkton, and the Sheptytsky Institute, Saskatoon. Holding an M.A. from the University of Toronto, he was instrumental in securing Ukrainian as an accredited course in Saskatchewan high schools.

Source: Joseph M. Lazarenko, editor-in-chief, The Ukrainian Pioneers in Alberta, Canada (Edmonton: Alberta Printing Company for the Ukrainian Pioneers Association in Edmonton, 1970), p. 274.

Paluk, William. Canadian Cossacks: Essays, Articles and Stories on Ukrainian Canadian Life. Winnipeg: Canadian Ukrainian Review Publishing Co., Ltd., 1943. Pp. 130.

William Paluk (1914-) was born and educated in Winnipeg, receiving his B.A. from United College in 1936. A contributing editor to the Canadian Ukrainian Review, he was also known as a director of Ukrainian choirs.

Scott, W. L. The Ukrainians: Our Most Pressing Problem. Toronto: Catholic Truth Society of Canada, 1931. Pp. 64.

Unquestionably a Catholic in good standing, W. L. Scott wrote the above pamphlet to arouse Canadian Catholics to the necessity of protecting Ukrainian Canadian Catholics from proselytizing by and loss to other faiths and to make them aware of

the peculiar religious situation of the Ukrainians as Ukrainian Greek Catholics.

Sisler, William J. Peaceful Invasion. Winnipeg: Ketchen Printing Company, 1944. Pp. 126.

Long a teacher and school principal among New Canadians, notably in metropolitan Winnipeg, Sisler discussed the problems of teaching and assimilating these children in an urban environment. The Ukrainians were simply one among many groups considered in Peaceful Invasion. The William Sisler Collection in the Public Archives of Manitoba contains numerous manuscripts and photographs on the development and progress of the Ukrainian Canadians, particularly drawing on concrete situations and conditions in rural Manitoba.

Smith, William G. Building the Nation: The Churches' Relation to the Immigrant. Toronto: Ryerson Press for Canadian Congregational Missionary Society, Young People's Forward Movement Department of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Board of Home Missions and Social Service of the Presbyterian Church, co-operating through the Canadian Council of the Missionary Education Movement, 1922. Pp. 202.

William G. Smith (1872-1943), educationalist and author, received his B.A. in 1899 from Victoria College (Toronto). Following employment as a professor of sociology at the University of Toronto, he became the director of the School of Social Work at the University of Manitoba.

Source: Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, p. 703.

_____. A Study in Canadian Immigration. With a Foreword by C. K. Clarke, Medical Director of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1920. Pp. 406.

Ukrainian National Federation of Canada. A Program and a Record. Winnipeg and Saskatoon: Ukrainian National Federation of Canada, March, 1943. Pp. 32.

Young, Charles H. The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation. Edited with a Foreword by Helen R. Y. Reid, Immigration Division of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene. Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Limited, 1931. Pp. 327.

Charles Hurlburt Young (1902-) wrote a second related study in 1938 also under the auspices of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene, as well as the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, entitled The Japanese Canadians.

Articles

Baumgartner, F. W. "Central European Immigration." Queen's Quarterly, Vol. XXXVII (Winter, 1930), pp. 183-192.

As a staff member of the European Immigration Service of the CNR, F. W. Baumgartner had travelled extensively throughout Central Europe and was thus personally acquainted with the backgrounds of Central Europeans now resident in Canada.

Chicanot, E. L. "Homesteading the Citizen. Canadian Festivals Promote Cultural Exchange." Commonwealth, Vol. X (May, 1929), pp. 94-95.

Eugene Louis Chicanot was also the author of Rhymes of the Miner: An Anthology of Canadian Mining Verse (1937).

_____. "Moulding a Nation." Dalhousie Review, Vol. IX (1929), pp. 232-237.

Elston, Miriam. "Our Own Slav Problem: Ukrainians in Canada." Graphic (August 9, 1919), n.p.

_____. "Ruthenians in Western Canada. III. Canadian Citizens from Russians." Onward (April 26, 1919), n.p.

_____. "Ruthenians in Western Canada. I. Public Schools." Onward (April 12, 1919), n.p.

_____. "Ruthenians in Western Canada. II. School Teaching Amongst the Russians." Onward (April 19, 1919), n.p.

_____. "Ruthenians in Western Canada. IV. When Sickness Visits A Russian Home." Onward (May 3, 1919), n.p.

Gibbon, John Murray. "The Foreign Born." Queen's Quarterly, Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (April, 1920), pp. 331-351.

_____. "European Seeds in the Canadian Garden." Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Vol. XVII, Series III, Section II (May, 1923), pp. 119-129.

_____. "A Secular Bible for a New Canada." Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Vol. XXXVI, Series III, Section II (May, 1942), pp. 93-100.

Hamilton, Louis. "Foreigners in the Canadian West." Dalhousie Review, Vol. XVII (1938), pp. 448-460.

Louis Hamilton was a lecturer in English at the University of Berlin when he submitted the above article to the Dalhousie Review.

Kirkconnell, Watson. "The European Canadians in their Press." Canadian Historical Association Report (1940), pp. 85-92.

Koohtow, P. W. "Ukrainian Theatre in Canada." Canadian Forum, Vol. X (July, 1930), p. 386.

Lower, A. R. M. "Motherlands." Dalhousie Review, Vol. XVIII (1938), pp. 143-148.

Canadian social historian A. R. M. Lower (1889-) has expressed very definite views on immigration and its doubtful value to Canada and on the inadvisability of a "mosaic" concept as the nature of the Canadian identity.

Murray, Walter. "Continental Europeans in Western Canada." Queen's Quarterly, Vol. XXXVIII (Winter, 1931), pp. 63-75.

Walter Murray (1866-1945) obtained his B.A. from the University of New Brunswick in 1886 and his M.D. from Edinburgh University in 1891 as well as additional education in Berlin. At one time professor of philosophy at the University of New Brunswick and Dalhousie University, he served as president of the University of Saskatchewan from 1908 to 1937. Murray was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada in 1918.
Source: Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, p. 542.

Reaman, George Elmore. "Canadianization of the Foreign-Born." Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature, Vol. LIX (October, 1922), pp. 445-450.

George Elmore Reaman was also the author of The Trail of the Black Walnut (1957), an account of the United Empire Loyalists.

Ridout, Rev. Denzil G. "European Sources of Non-Anglo-Saxons in Canada." Canadian Geographical Journal, Vol. II, No. 3 (March, 1931), pp. 201-223.

The Reverend Denzil G. Ridout was the Assistant Secretary of the Missionary Maintenance Fund of the United Church of Canada, and in that capacity not only studied the life of the non-Anglo-Saxon people in Canada but also undertook a journey to their European homeland to obtain personal impressions and observations. The present article emerged from his trip.

Scott, W. L. "The Privy Council and Greek Catholics." Canadian Law Times (April, 1919), pp. 1-7.

Simpson, George W. "The Blending of Traditions in Western Canadian Settlement." Canadian Historical Association Report (1944), pp. 46-52.

George W. Simpson was for many years the head of the Department of History at the University of Saskatchewan, where he was noted as a specialist in the history of the Slavic peoples in Europe and America. In 1941 he published Historic Atlas of Ukraine and has since written other material pertaining to Ukrainian history. Simpson edited the 1939 English translation of Dmytro Doroshenko's History of the Ukraine. He was also active in the formation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

Wright, J. F. C. "Ukrainian-Canadians." Canadian Geographical Journal, Vol. XXV, No. 2 (August, 1942), pp. 74-87.

J. F. C. Wright's interests in the Slavic citizens of Canada were not confined to the Ukrainians. In 1940 he published the journalistic but informative Slava Bohu: The Story of the Doukhobors.

Yeigh, Frank. "New Canadians Making Good." Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature, Vol. LIX (July, 1922), pp. 227-235.

Younge, Eva R. "Population Movements and the Assimilation of Alien Groups in Canada." Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. X (August, 1944), pp. 372-380.

In 1944 Eva R. Younge was associated with the University of Toronto.

Theses and Unpublished Manuscripts

Bayley, Charles M. "The Social Structure of the Italian and Ukrainian Immigrant Communities in Montreal, 1935-1937." Unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1939. Pp. 292.

Bercuson, Leonard. "Education in the Bloc Settlements of Western Canada." Unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1941. Pp. 270.

Byrne, Timothy C. "The Ukrainian Community in North Central Alberta." Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1937. Pp. 100.

Timothy C. Byrne received his B.A. in 1932, M.A. in 1937, and B.Ed. in 1942, all from the University of Alberta. He was granted his D.Ed. from the University of Colorado in 1956. Successively teacher, superintendent of schools, high school inspector, and Chief Superintendent of Schools for Alberta, Byrne became Deputy Minister of Education for Alberta in 1966. He resigned in 1971 to assume the presidency of Athabasca University.

Deverell, Jessie Marion. "The Ukrainian Teacher as an Agent of Cultural Assimilation." Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1941. Pp. 114.

Hunter, Alexander Jardine. "The Ukrainians: Their Historical and Cultural Background." Paper presented to the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, January 13, 1932. Pp. 26. Published in part in Series III (10), 1955, of the Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba.

Mamchur, Stephen W. "The Economic and Social Adjustment of Slavic Immigrants in Canada: With Special Reference to the Ukrainians in Montreal." Unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1934. Pp. 302.

McAllister, John W. "The Rural School as a Community Centre: A Discussion Dealing With the Problem of the Assimilation of New Canadians in Western Canada." Unpublished M.Sc. thesis, University of Alberta, 1925. Pp. 70.

Robinson, Claude Hill. "A Study of the Written Language Errors of 1238 Pupils of Ukrainian Origin." Unpublished B.Ed. thesis, University of Alberta, 1934. Pp. 58.

Woollatt, Lorne Hedley. "A Study to Discover any Characteristic Differences in Sentence Structure in the Written English of Saskatchewan Elementary School Pupils Belonging to Different National Groups." Unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1944. Pp. 89.

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Books and Pamphlets

Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and the Workers' Benevolent Association of Canada. Tribute to our Ukrainian Pioneers in Canada's First Century. Proceedings of a Special Convention of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and the Workers' Benevolent Association of Canada, March 23, 1966. Pp. 100.

Darcovich, William. Ukrainians in Canada: The Struggle to Retain their Identity. Ottawa: Ukrainian Self-Reliance Association, Ottawa Branch, 1967. Pp. 38.

William Darcovich, Ph.D., was employed in 1967 as an economist on the Atlantic Development Board.

Davidson, Gordon A. Ukrainians in Canada: A Study in Canadian Immigration. Originally delivered as an address to McGill Univer-

sity Historical Club, November 30, 1944, and published in pamphlet form in 1947. Pp. 23.

Fry, Olivia Rose. My Heritage from the Builders of Canada. New York: Carleton Press, Inc., 1967. Pp. 183.

Of definite Leftist inclinations, Olivia Rose Fry (née Yakimchuk) was a second-generation Ukrainian Canadian. Active publicly, she founded the Vancouver (Kingcrest) Business and Professional Women's Club.

Gibbon, John Murray. New Color for the Canadian Mosaic: The Displaced Persons. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1951. Pp. 30.

Kaye, Vladimir J. Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895-1900: Dr. Josef Oleskow's Role in the Settlement of the Canadian Northwest. With a Foreword by George W. Simpson. Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1964. Pp. 420.

Vladimir J. Kaye-Kysilewsky (1896-) was born into a distinguished Ukrainian family. Educated at the University of Vienna and the Institute of Eastern European Studies, where he received his Ph.D. in 1924, he eventually emigrated to Canada. From 1928 to 1930 he edited Western News (Ukrainian) in Edmonton, then moved to England for post-graduate studies at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies at the University of London. Director of the Ukrainian Press Bureau in London, he was also a member of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Returning to Canada in 1940, Kaye became connected with an information branch in the Department of National War Services designed to promote co-operation among Canadians of non-British and non-French origin. He acted as a liaison officer with the various ethnic groups and their press. In 1950 he was appointed associate professor at the University of Ottawa, specialist in migration, ethnology, and the settlement of Slavic groups in Canada. His work on the Ukrainian Canadians has been stupendous.

Source: Foreword by George W. Simpson, pp. vii-x.

Kaye-Kysilevs'kyj, V.J. Slavic Groups in Canada. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, Slavistica #12, 1951. Pp. 30.

Kiriak, Illia. Sons of the Soil. Translated by Michael Luchkovich. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1959. Pp. 303.

Illia Kiriak (1888-1955) emigrated to Canada from his native Ukraine in 1907 and received his education at the Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon. Becoming a teacher, he taught for several years in Alberta. Although he also wrote short stories and poetry, Sons of the Soil constituted his sole monumental literary undertaking.

Source: Volodymyr Kubijovič, ed., Entsyklopediya Ukrayinoznavstva ("Ukrainian Encyclopedia"), Vol. II, pt. 3 (1959), p. 1033.

Lazarenko, Joseph M., editor-in-chief. The Ukrainian Pioneers in Alberta, Canada. Edmonton: Alberta Printing Company for the Ukrainian Pioneers Association in Edmonton, 1970. Pp. 384.

An Alberta-born Ukrainian Canadian, Joseph M. Lazarenko (1905-) received his law degree from the University of Alberta in 1934. He practised law in Myrnam and Vancouver before transferring to Edmonton in 1951. He was appointed to the Queen's Counsel in 1955.

Lewenec-Kohuska, Natalia. Forty Years in Retrospect. Translated by Sonia Cipywnyk. Manitoba: Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, 1967. Pp. 32.

Since 1960 Natalia Kohuska has edited the woman's monthly, Promin.

Luchkovich, Michael. A Ukrainian Canadian in Parliament: Memoirs of Michael Luchkovich. With a Foreword by Alexander Gregorovich. Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1965. Pp. 128.

American-born Michael Luchkovich (1892-1973) came to Canada in 1907, enrolled at Manitoba College, and in 1912 obtained his first teaching position in rural Alberta. In 1926 he was elected Member of Parliament for the Vegreville Constituency under the United Farmers of Alberta banner. He held his seat until 1935 and in 1931 represented Canada at the International Inter-Parliamentary Union Congress in Romania. In his later years he did notable work as a translator of Kiriak's Sons of the Soil and Nicholas Prychodko's One of the Fifteen Million.

Source: Entsyklopediya Ukrayinoznavstva, Vol. II, pt. 4 (1962), p. 1390.

Lysenko, Vera. Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1947. Pp. 312.

Canadian-born Vera Lysenko was a Winnipeg school teacher and journalist of Leftist persuasion. Her political bias was clearly reflected in her publications.

_____. Yellow Boots. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1954. Pp. 314.

MacGregor, James G. Vilni Zemli/Free Lands: The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1969. Pp. 274.

A popular historian with numerous publications to his credit, James G. MacGregor (1905-) has not written any additional work on the Ukrainian Canadians. In 1968 Vilni Zemli was awarded the Beaver Award by the Edmonton Branch of the Hudson's Bay Company. Professionally MacGregor was trained as an electrical engineer at the University of Alberta, receiving

his B.Sc. in 1929, and employed for many years by Canadian Utilities Limited before resigning in 1952 to become chairman of the Alberta Power Commission. In 1956 he was appointed chairman of the Royal Commission on the Development of Northern Alberta.

Mandryka, M.I. History of Ukrainian Literature in Canada. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1968. Pp. 274.

Mykyta I. Mandryka (1886-) emigrated to Canada in 1928 following education in Kiev, Sofia, and Prague, where he obtained an LL.D. Much of his energy in Canada was devoted to acquainting Ukrainian Canadians with the plight of the Ukraine. Already noted as a poet, Mandryka has continued to publish in Canada.

Marunchak, Michael H. The Ukrainian Canadians: A History. With a Foreword by V. J. Kaye. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970. Pp. 792.

Michael H. Marunchak (1914-) was educated at the University of L'viv and the Ukrainian Free University in Prague, receiving an LL.D. in 1941. Active on behalf of the Ukrainian cause in Europe, he emigrated to Canada after World War II with the movement of displaced persons. His interest in Ukrainian Canadian history has resulted in numerous studies, published almost exclusively in the Ukrainian language.

Methodius, Brother S. Reverend Brother Stanislaus Joseph, F.S.C. Yorkton: St. Joseph's College, 1953. Pp. 30.

Oakburn Centennial Committee. Echoes: Oakburn, Manitoba, 1870-1970. Oakburn, Manitoba: Oakburn Centennial Committee, 1970. Pp. 118.

Romaniuk, Gus. Taking Root in Canada: An Autobiography. Winnipeg: Columbia Press Limited, 1954. Pp. 283.

Emigrating to Canada as a child in 1912, Gus Romaniuk pursued a checkered career at Riverton, Manitoba, when the marginal lands settled by his father proved unsuited to agriculture.

Semczuk, Rev. Dr. S. Centennial of Canada and 75 Years of Ukrainian Catholic Church. Winnipeg, 1967. Pp. 7.

The Reverend Doctor Stepan Semczuk (1899-) is a priest in the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church of Canada and known as a Ukrainian-language poet.

Ukrainian Canadian Committee. On Language and Culture. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, published in connection with the Second Canadian Conference on Education, 1962. Pp. 10.

Ukrainian Professional and Business Men's Club. 25th Anniversary Review, 1943-1968. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Professional and Business Men's Club, 1968. Pp. 149.

Woycenko, Ol'ha. Canada's Cultural Heritage. Ukrainian Contribution. Originally delivered as an address to a symposium on Canada's Cultural Heritage at the Annual Meeting of the Provincial Council of Women, Winnipeg, November 14-15, 1963. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences. Litopys #22, 1964. Pp. 16.

Ol'ha Woycenko (1909-) has been an energetic researcher into Ukrainian Canadian development with numerous publications in both English and Ukrainian to her credit. Her most ambitious undertaking has been a series, Litopys ukrayins'koho zhyttya v Kanadi ("Annals of Ukrainian Life in Canada"), consisting of selected excerpts from the newspaper Ukrayins'kyi holos covering all aspects of Ukrainian Canadian life. Woycenko has also been highly active in Ukrainian women's organizations and served as president of the Ukrainian Canadian Women's Association from 1948 to 1954.

Source: Entsyklopediya Ukrayinoznavstva, Vol. II, pt. 1 (1959), p. 302.

_____. The Ukrainians in Canada. With a Foreword by John Fisher, Commissioner, Centennial Commission, and Charles E. Dojack, President, Canada Ethnic Press Federation. Winnipeg: Trident Press, Ltd., 1967. Pp. 271.

Yuzyk, Paul. The Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life. Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Business and Professional Federation, 1967. Pp. 104.

Saskatchewan-born Paul Yuzyk (1913-) received his M.A. from the University of Saskatchewan in 1948 and his Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota in 1958. For several years on the teaching staff of the University of Manitoba in the Departments of History and Slavic Studies, he was later associated with the University of Ottawa. Appointed to the Canadian Senate in 1963, Yuzyk has gained considerable repute as a spokesman for multiculturalism in Canada.

_____. The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History. With a Foreword by Ross Mitchell, President, Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba. Toronto: University of Toronto Press under the auspices of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, 1953. Pp. 232.

Articles

Boudreau, Joseph A. "Western Canada's 'Enemy Aliens' in World War One." Alberta Historical Review, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Winter, 1964), pp. 1-9.

At the time of submitting the above article to the Alberta Historical Review, Joseph A. Boudreau was an Assistant Professor of History at the University of Calgary. His paper was originally presented to the Calgary Branch of the Historical Society of Alberta (April, 1963).

Chalmers, J. W. "Strangers in our Midst." Alberta Historical Review, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Winter, 1968), pp. 18-23.

An Alberta school teacher, Dr. J. W. Chalmers was the author of Schools in the Foothills Province (1967). In 1968 he was the president of the Historical Society of Alberta.

Chomiak, M. "Contribution of Ukrainians to the Development and Growth of Schools in Alberta." Slavs in Canada, Vol. II (1968), pp. 273-277.

Francis, Anne. "Canada's Slavic Seasoning." Geographical Magazine, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (1953), pp. 84-88.

Anne Francis was for some time a news commentator for CBC and living in Winnipeg, which afforded her the opportunity of obtaining first-hand information on the Ukrainian Canadians.

Gibbon, John Murray. "Folk-song and Feudalism." Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Vol. XLII, Series III, Section II (May, 1948), pp. 73-84.

Hobart, Charles W. "Adjustment of Ukrainians in Alberta: Alienation and Integration." Slavs in Canada, Vol. I (1966), pp. 69-85.

Charles W. Hobart, sociologist, was a representative of the University of Alberta at the First National Conference on Canadian Slavs held at Banff, June 9-12, 1965.

Janishewskyj, W. "Ukrainian Engineers in Ontario." Slavs in Canada, Vol. II (1968), pp. 168-177.

W. Janishewskyj represented the University of Toronto at the Second National Conference on Canadian Slavs held in Ottawa, June 9-11, 1967.

Kalbach, Warren E. "Some Demographic Aspects of Ukrainian Population in Canada." Slavs in Canada, Vol. I (1966), pp. 54-68.

Warren E. Kalbach was a representative of the University of Alberta at the First National Conference on Canadian Slavs.

Kaye, V.J. "Early Ukrainian Graduates of Agricultural Colleges." Slavs in Canada, Vol. II (1968), pp. 263-272.

_____. "Three Phases of Ukrainian Immigration." Slavs in Canada, Vol. I (1966), pp. 36-43.

_____. "The Ukrainians in Canada." Immigrants in Canada. Edited by John Kosa. Montreal, 1955. Pp. 12-16.

Kirkconnell, Watson. "Leviathan, Behemoth, Kraken." Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Vol. VI, Series IV, Section II (June, 1968), pp. 161-170.

Lazarowich, Peter J. "Ukrainian Pioneers in Western Canada." Alberta Historical Review, Vol. 5, No. 4 (Autumn, 1957), pp. 17-27.

Peter J. Lazarowich practised law for many years in the city of Edmonton.

Maslanyk, A., and Chomiak, M. "The Scientific Contribution of Ukrainians to the Industrial Development of Canada." Slavs in Canada, Vol. II (1968), pp. 178-188.

Both A. Maslanyk and M. Chomiak were representatives of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Edmonton at the Second National Conference on Canadian Slavs.

Navalkowski, Anna. "Shandro School." Alberta Historical Review, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Autumn, 1970), pp. 8-14.

Anna Navalkowski is the daughter of William N. Shandro, one of the first pupils to attend Shandro School.

Nebel, Mabel Ruttle. "Rev. Thomas Johnson and the Insinger Experiment." Saskatchewan History, Vol. XI (1958), pp. 1-16.

Mabel Ruttle Nebel was a school teacher at the Presbyterian mission among the Ukrainians at Insinger, Saskatchewan, for four summers. In 1956 she published the above article privately in a limited edition of 110 copies.

Patterson, Sheila. "This New Canada: A Study of Changing People." Queen's Quarterly, Vol. LXII (Spring, 1955), pp. 80-88.

Pawliw, Orest. "Studies in Ukrainian Literature in Canada." Slavs in Canada, Vol. II (1968), pp. 235-246.

Orest Pawliw was a representative of the University of Ottawa at the Second National Conference on Canadian Slavs.

Plawiuk, M. "Ukrainian Credit Unions in Canada." Slavs in Canada, Vol. II (1968), pp. 146-153.

Mykola Plawiuk was a representative of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee at the Second National Conference on Canadian Slavs.

Pobihushchy, Sidney I. "The Development of Political Socialization of Ukrainians in Alberta." Slavs in Canada, Vol. II (1968), pp. 20-30.

Sidney I. Pobihushchy was a representative of the University of Alberta at the Second National Conference on Canadian Slavs.

Pohorecky, Zenon S., and Royick, Alexander. "Anglicization of Ukrainian in Canada Between 1895 and 1970: A Case Study of Linguistic Crystallization." Canadian Ethnic Studies Bulletin of the Research Centre for Canadian Ethnic Studies, Vol. I, No. 2 (1969), pp. 141-219.

Ponich, M. H. "Wasyl Eleniak: Father of Ukrainian Settlers in Canada." Alberta Historical Review, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Summer, 1956), pp. 17-18.

Michael H. Ponich (1905-1957), an Alberta lawyer, represented the predominantly Ukrainian Willingdon Constituency in the Alberta Legislature from 1944 to 1955 for the Social Credit Party.

Royick, Alexander. "Ukrainian Settlements in Alberta." Canadian Slavonic Papers, Vol. X, No. 3 (1968), pp. 278-297.

Alexander Royick, formerly a member of the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Saskatchewan, is now at Selkirk College, New Westminster, British Columbia.

Rudnyc'kyj, Jaroslav B. "Ukrainian Free Academy of Science--UVAN of Canada." Slavs in Canada, Vol. II (1968), pp. 207-211.

Jaroslav B. Rudnyc'kyj (1910-) received his Ph.D. from L'viv University in 1937. Since his emigration to Canada after World War II, he has been highly active as a researcher and publisher on Ukrainian Canadian history and development. A noted philologist, he headed the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba for many years and was a moving force behind the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences. Rudnyc'kyj was also a member of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

Source: Entsyklopediya Ukrayinoznavstva, pt. 33 (1975), p. 2632.

Simpson, George W. "Father Delaere, Pioneer Missionary and Founder of Churches." Saskatchewan History, Vol. III, No. 1 (Winter, 1950), pp. 1-16.

Syrnick, John H. "Community Builders: Early Ukrainian Teachers." Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, No. 21 (1964-1965), pp. 25-34.

John H. Syrnick was a representative of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee at the Second National Conference on Canadian Slavs. He has also served as editor of Ukrayins'kyi holos.

_____. "The Ukrainian Canadian Committee: Its Significance in the Canadian Society." Slavs in Canada, Vol. II (1968), pp. 67-77.

Toombs, M. P. "A Saskatchewan Experiment in Teacher Education, 1907-1917." Saskatchewan History, Vol. XVII (1964), pp. 1-11.

Vallee, Frank G.; Schwartz, Mildred; and Darknell, Frank. "Ethnic Assimilation and Differentiation in Canada." Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. XXIII, No. 4 (November, 1957), pp. 540-549.

Wangenheim, Elizabeth D. "Problems of Research on Ukrainians in Eastern Canada." Slavs in Canada, Vol. I (1966), pp. 44-53.

Sociologist Elizabeth D. Wangenheim of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education and Waterloo Lutheran University has done considerable work on the Ukrainian Canadians. A Ph.D. dissertation entitled "The Ukrainian Committee in Toronto" was begun at the University of Toronto but never completed at that institution.

_____. "The Ukrainians: A Case Study of the 'Third Force'." Nationalism in Canada. Edited by Peter Russell. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Company of Canada, Limited, 1966. Pp. 72-91.

Yuzyk, Paul. "The First Ukrainians in Manitoba." Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, No. 8 (1953), pp. 30-39.

Zuk, Radoslav. "Ukrainian Church Architecture in Canada." Slavs in Canada, Vol. II (1968), pp. 229-234.

Radoslav Zuk is noted as an architect of Ukrainian churches in Canada and the United States. He received a B.Arch. from McGill University in 1956 and a M.Arch. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1960. An Assistant Professor of Architecture at the University of Manitoba from 1960 to 1966, he is now Associate Professor at McGill University.

Theses and Unpublished Manuscripts

Cipywnyk, Sonia Rose. "Educational Implications of Ukrainian-English Childhood Bilingualism in Saskatchewan." Unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1968. Pp. 402.

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Manitoba-born Harry Pinuita (1910-) received his B.A. in 1948 from the University of Manitoba.

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The Reverend John Skwarok (1918-) was ordained a priest in the Order of St. Basil the Great in 1947. He has since worked as a parish priest, teacher, missionary, researcher, and writer on Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian topics.

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Odarka S. Trosky (née Hrycyna) attended Manitoba Normal School and subsequently taught in Greater Winnipeg for fourteen years. In 1965 she was appointed assistant professor in the Faculty of Education at the University of Manitoba. She has also served as a member of the Curriculum Committee in Language Arts for the Manitoba Department of Education. Trosky is

currently engaged in a doctoral program at the University of Toronto.

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Ukrainian-born Wasyl Veryha (1922-) obtained his B.A. in 1959 and his B.L.S. in 1961, both from the University of Toronto. He is currently employed with the University of Toronto Libraries.

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APPENDIX

UKRAINIAN CANADIAN BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Bibliographies on the Ukrainian Canadians exist either as separate publications restricted to that ethnic group or as part of general Canadian ethnic bibliographic collections in which the Ukrainian Canadian section constitutes only a chapter of the whole. In both instances they reflect research activity on the Ukrainian group in Canada and the popular, literary, and scholarly output of the community itself.

The first annual bibliography to include Ukrainian Canadian titles appeared in the summer issue of the University of Toronto Quarterly under "New Canadian Letters," renamed in 1960 "Publications in Other Languages." Begun in 1937 by Watson Kirkconnell,[1] this feature reviews selected works published in Canada in a given year, beginning with 1935, in languages other than French and English or related to these language groups. The survey concentrates on Ukrainian Canadian prose, poetry, and drama.

In 1951 the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences inaugurated the annual publication of Slavica Canadiana as a subsection of Slavistica.[2] The first part of each issue is a selected bibliography of Slavic books and pamphlets published in or relating to Canada in a given year with supplementary listings for previous years. The works are arranged alphabetically by author in categories such as religion; literature and literary criticism; and biography, memoirs, and

history. Part Two consists of book reviews, comments, and reports, and includes reviews of new publications on the Ukrainians in Canada. From the Ukrainian point of view, however, the importance of Slavica Canadiana as a bibliographic reference has been overshadowed by a second UVAN publication, Ukrainica Canadiana.

Since 1954 Ukrainica Canadiana has been published annually as a two-part volume.[3] Part One, incorporated into its annual equivalent of Slavica Canadiana, is a selected bibliography of Ukrainian books and pamphlets published in a given year in or relating to Canada with supplementary listings for previous years. This section is organized as its Slavica Canadiana counterpart. Publications vary greatly in type, quality, and length from historical monographs to annual reports and letters. As with Slavica Canadiana, many of the items reflect nothing of Ukrainian life in Canada. Part Two originated as a guide to the current Ukrainian press in Canada, but in 1956 it began to note only those Ukrainian Canadian newspapers and periodicals initiated in the past year. Ukrainica Canadiana has also carried three bibliographic essays.[4]

In 1954 the Canadian Citizenship Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration launched the publication of an annual bibliography entitled Research on Immigrant Adjustment and Ethnic Groups. A supplementary volume in 1955 covered unpublished theses completed between 1920 and 1953 in this field. In 1960 this annual bibliographic series was superseded by a periodic publication of the Economic and Social Research Branch. The first three volumes, published in 1960, 1962, and 1964, were entitled Citizenship, Immigration

and Ethnic Groups in Canada: A Bibliography of Research Published and Unpublished Sources, respectively for the years 1920-1958, 1959-1961, and 1962-1964. The fourth volume was published in 1969 by the Department of Manpower and Immigration under the title Immigration, Migration and Ethnic Groups in Canada: A Bibliography of Research 1964-1968. The bibliography is necessarily selective, especially Volume I, which was largely a consolidation of the former series on immigrant adjustment and ethnic groups. Entries are organized according to a detailed subject coding system both in an initial general section and for each ethnic group. The different ethnic groups have been arranged purposely in order of numerical strength in Canada to show the relationship between the size of a specific group and the quantity of research conducted or it. The section on Ukrainians comprises primarily English- and Ukrainian-language publications, theses, or works in progress with a brief description of the contents or an author's argument. Unlike Slavica Canadiana or Ukrainica Canadiana, it excludes works published in Canada but relating to Ukrainian affairs elsewhere.

The first number of Volume I of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Bulletin in 1969 carried three Ukrainian Canadian bibliographies compiled by Alexander Malycky: "University Research on Ukrainian Canadians: A Preliminary Check List of Dissertations and Theses," "Ukrainian Canadian Periodical Publications: A Preliminary Check List," and "A Preliminary Check List of Studies on Ukrainian Canadian Literature: General Studies." In collaboration with Orysia Prokopiw and Alexander Royick, Malycky produced a fourth index, "Ukrainian Canadian Creative Literature: A Preliminary Check List of Authors and Pseudonyms." The first issue of Volume II in 1970 carried supplements to university

research on Ukrainian Canadians and Ukrainian Canadian periodicals. Malycky and E. Verchomin Harasymiw expanded the earlier compilations on Ukrainian Canadian creative literature with the addition of preliminary check lists of imprints and specific studies. Sources have been cited and English, Ukrainian and other language titles presented simply alphabetically by author, or by title in the case of periodicals, with minimal bibliographic information. The check lists do not claim to be comprehensive.

In reaction to the federal government's official sanction of multiculturalism, the Ontario Department of the Provincial Secretary and Citizenship commissioned a bibliography of Canadian ethnic groups. The resultant work by Andrew Gregorovich, Canadian Ethnic Groups Bibliography,[5] attempts to cover a broad area and is consequently incomplete and selective. A general section on human, cultural, and civil rights, language, assimilation and integration, the press and literature, immigration, demography, the Mosaic and the Melting Pot, and American ethnic groups precedes that on individual Canadian ethnic groups. Seventy-eight Ukrainian Canadian titles are listed, the majority English-language, followed by other bibliographic data and a brief description of the contents and merit of each work.

This survey of Ukrainian Canadian bibliographies has omitted unpublished compilations, Ukrainian titles as part of general Canadian or regional bibliographies, and special studies[6] in specific areas. Nevertheless, the major works have been examined to indicate the availability of Ukrainian Canadian bibliographic sources, the extent of development of this branch of Ukrainian Canadian scholarship, and the contents and structure of such works.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Watson Kirkconnell also published specific Ukrainian Canadian bibliographies, including "Ukrainian Canadians" in Canadian Forum (January, 1934) and "Ukrainian Canadian Literature" in Opinion (September-October, 1947).

[2]J. B. Rudnyc'kyj was the sole editor of Slavica Canadiana from 1952 to 1956. From 1957 to 1969 he edited the multilingual series with the co-operation of individuals specializing in different branches of the Slavic family. Over the years they have included D. Sokulsky (Ukrainian), L. J. Strakhovsky, V. Turek (Polish), C. N. Bedford (Russian), J. Kirschbaum (Slovakian), I. Avakumovic (Serbo-Croatian), H. F. Chanal (Russian), and T. W. Krychowski. In 1956 the Canadian Association of Slavists began to assist UVAN in the publication of Slavica Canadiana and in 1962 the Polish Institute of Canada became the third co-publisher.

[3]To 1963 Part One was compiled by J. B. Rudnyc'kyj and Part Two by D. Sokulsky. In 1964 Rudnyc'kyj became the sole compiler. He was succeeded in 1971 by Z. Horbay and O. Woycenko.

[4]J. B. Rudnyc'kyj, "Ukrainian Canadian Bibliography," Ukrainica Canadiana 1962, #10 (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1963), pp. 6-10, and "Ukrainian Canadian Press 1903-1963: A Bibliographic Survey," Ukrainica Canadiana 1963, #11 (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1964), pp. 5-9; and Danylo Lobay, "Ukrainian Press in Canada," Ukrainica Canadiana 1966, #14, trans. and revised by Olenka Negrych (Winnipeg: D. Lobay Foundation at UVAN, 1967), pp. 17-32.

[5]Andrew Gregorovich, Canadian Ethnic Groups Bibliography: A Selected Bibliography of Ethno-Cultural Groups in Canada and the Province of Ontario (Toronto: Department of the Provincial Secretary and Citizenship of Ontario, 1972), pp. 208. Gregorovich's interest in Ukrainian Canadian studies well exceeds the limits of this bibliography. Of particular value to the researcher on the Ukrainians in Canada is a bibliography currently in preparation entitled "Ukrainian Canadian History and Culture: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography." This work is expected to contain approximately six hundred titles, primarily in English. See Gregorovich, Canadian Ethnic Groups Bibliography, p. 180.

[6]Robert Klymasz, for example, has done extensive work in the field of Ukrainian Canadian folklore. Among his publications in this area is a 463-item bibliography, "A Bibliography of Ukrainian Folklore in Canada, 1902-1964," Anthropology Papers, No. 21 (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, January, 1969).